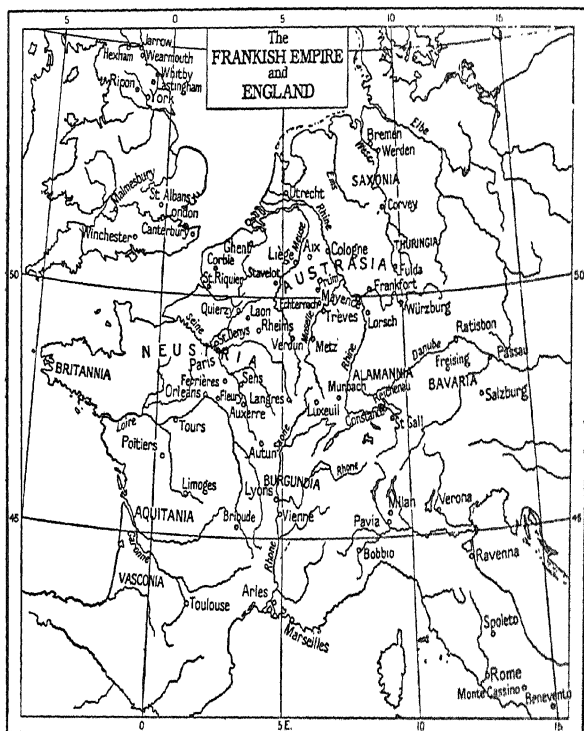


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THOUGHT AND LETTERS IN
WESTERN EUROPE: A.D. 500 TO 900



THOUGHT AND LETTERS IN WESTERN EUROPE

A.D. 500 TO 900

BY

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WITH A MAP



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PREFACE

A BOOK in English, which, within the moderate compass of a single volume, essays to describe and estimate thought and literature in Western Europe during the four centuries following the final collapse of the Western Roman Empire, should need no apology. For the period and the subject have been rather neglected as a whole by English scholars, although excellent studies have been made of special topics or authors, and there exist also some useful surveys of a more general character in works devoted to the whole mediaeval era. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that even good mediaevalists are at times prone to be somewhat cavalier towards anything prior to the eleventh century or to the rise of the universities. No reasonably informed person, it is true, any longer believes in the 'Dark Ages'—a prolonged period of hopeless barbarism succeeding on the fall of the Western Empire. But in the English-speaking countries at least, where so much has been published, whether of specialized research or of broader interpretation, on the later Middle Ages, the early centuries have attracted little attention. And yet, apart from the immense and obvious debt that we owe to the Carolingian age for the preservation of classical and post-classical Latin literature, that era and the centuries that preceded it were a formative period without which it is impossible either to understand or to explain the full achievement of mediaeval culture at its zenith.

As to the arrangement of this book—the first three chapters do not pretend to be more than a brief survey to introduce the main subject which begins with Chapter IV. The literature and thought of the period beginning with Boethius and ending with Bede and Boniface have been treated regionally. In no other way would it have been possible to bring out the contrast between different areas of culture and the alternations of brilliance and obscurity that characterized them, nor yet to trace the evolution of a particular intellectual group—for example, the Irish in the sixth and seventh centuries—and its influence on other than its native area. On the other hand, from the time of Charlemagne to the end of the ninth century,

in spite of the partial collapse of Charles's political empire, there existed a certain unity in religious observance, education, and the cultivation of letters, which justifies the application of the term, Carolingian, to the whole period. Moreover, after considering the several aspects of educational theory and practice, and closely allied topics, it seemed most convenient and most conducive to clearness to devote one of a series of chapters or part-chapters to each of the different branches of literature. The final chapter (XV) on vernacular literature is but a sketch for the convenience of the general reader or student. It is only with the greatest hesitation that I have ventured to include it in this volume, since, in writing it, I have rashly ventured into a field with which I am but imperfectly acquainted.

My debt to previous writers, which has necessarily been great throughout the composition of this book, will be apparent from the footnotes and from the select bibliography at the end. One work must, however, be singled out for special mention here, the monumental *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* by Dr. Max Manitius. The debt which scholars owe to him for that work, and for many papers and monographs on mediaeval Latin literature and on the transmission of the ancient classics into and through the Middle Ages, seems to me at least never to have been properly and adequately acknowledged either in his own or in other countries. And, with the expression of my gratitude for the help and inspiration that I have derived from this great scholar's writings, I would couple the earnest wish and hope that the third volume of his *History* may soon be given to the world.

My sincere thanks are due to Professor C. H. Beeson, of the University of Chicago, and to Mr. R. A. B. Mynors, Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, for kindly answering certain palaeographical queries. To my friend and colleague, Professor H. Caplan, I owe a debt of gratitude for patiently listening to and discussing many parts of this book during its composition.

M. L. W. L.

Innocents' Day, 1930

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THE FRANKISH EMPIRE AND ENGLAND

Frontispiece

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- | | | | |
|-------------|---|---|---|
| Bardenhewer | . | . | O. Bardenhewer; <i>Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur</i> . Vols. 1 to 4, Ed. 2. |
| Becker | . | . | G. Becker, <i>Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui</i> . |
| CGL. | . | . | G. Goetz, <i>Corpus glossariorum latinorum</i> . Vols. 1 to 7. |
| CSEL. | . | . | <i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum</i> . |
| DACL. | . | . | <i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> , edd. F. Cabrol et H. Leclercq. |
| Grabmann | . | . | M. Grabmann, <i>Geschichte der scholastischen Methode</i> . Vols. 1 and 2. |
| Hauck | . | . | A. Hauck, <i>Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands</i> . Vols. 1 and 2. Ed. 3 and 4. |
| Manitius | . | . | M. Manitius, <i>Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters</i> . Vols. 1 and 2. |
| Mansi | . | . | Mansi-Welter, <i>Sanctorum conciliorum amplissima collectio</i> . |
| MGH. | . | . | <i>Monumenta Germaniae historica</i> , The different parts of this collection have been abbreviated as follows :
<div style="margin-left: 40px;"> AA. Auctores antiquissimi.
 Capit. Capitula regum Francorum.
 Chron. min. Chronica minora.
 Concil. Concilia aevi Carolini.
 Epist. Epistulae.
 Poet. Poetae Latini aevi Carolini.
 SS. Scriptores.
 Script. Langob. Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum.
 Script. Merov. Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum. </div> |
| PL. | . | . | J. Migne, <i>Patrologiae cursus completus; series Latina</i> . |
| Roger | . | . | M. Roger, <i>L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin</i> . |
| Schubert | . | . | H. von Schubert, <i>Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Frühmittelalter</i> . |

THOUGHT AND LETTERS IN WESTERN EUROPE

PART I

INTRODUCTORY: THE WESTERN EMPIRE IN THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES

CHAPTER I

THE EMPIRE AND THE CHURCH

(a) THE EMPIRE AND ITS INVADERS

TO a contemporary observer the opening years of the third century of our era may well have seemed to promise fair for the future. Peace and unity once more reigned in an empire whose safety and prosperity had for three decades been imperilled by foreign aggressors without, and by civil war and misgovernment within. But the military autocracy perfected by Septimius Severus as a system of government was only temporarily effective; in the half-century following his death (211) it broke down disastrously. The majority of the soldiers was recruited from the frontier provinces. However considerable their merits as fighting material, they were undisciplined, and, looking chiefly to their personal advantage, lacked loyalty to the Empire and even to their commanders-in-chief, if their demands for pay and spoil were not fully satisfied. It was in their power to make and to unmake emperors, and they used it. The constant civil wars of the third century, coupled with the increasing pressure of the northern and north-eastern neighbours of the Empire, rendered large tracts of territory waste land. Whole provinces passed out of the Roman control, and the economic condition of the civil population, bled white by a succession of despots, was pitiable. To have arrested the collapse, before it was completed, of the imperial structure, and, after chastising the barbarian enemy, to have recovered most of the lost dominions

of Rome was the especial merit of Claudius and of Aurelian. The far slower but no less difficult task of reconstruction was carried through by Diocletian and after him by Constantine.

But the restored Empire of the fourth century was a thing very different from the Empire of the Caesars or the Antonines. The principate, which in theory had never ceased to be elective, was replaced by a quasi-oriental despotism whose trappings recalled, if indeed they were not copied from, Sassanian Persia. A rigid system of castes, not springing from racial or religious institutions or taboos but imposed by the edicts of successive imperial rulers, who could devise no other way of holding together a decaying political structure, left no portion of society untouched. The same principle of compulsion, which gradually converted the free peasant into a serf bound to the soil that he tilled, was applied to the small landed proprietors (*curiales*) from whom the local councils and local magistracies of the numerous urban communities in the Empire were recruited. The associations (*collegia*) of merchants, shippers, and craftsmen of every kind, which had been formed in the earlier period of the Empire for religious and social ends, were in many cases utilized by the government for its own purposes, primarily for securing the food and other essential supplies of the two capitals, Rome and Constantinople, and of the army. From forbidding the members of those *collegia* to cease their membership it was but a step further to compel the son to follow his father's calling, until the free and voluntary associations which had been formed by the members themselves were changed into hereditary guilds rigidly controlled by imperial authority.¹ The enormous burden of taxation, which crushed every class of the community, even if it pressed most pitilessly on the *curiales*, and the demands of the government on the guilds, which constantly impeded private enterprise and the unrestricted development of industry and commerce, relentlessly furthered the impoverishment of the Empire. It became increasingly difficult, even after the utmost had been squeezed out of the civil population, to meet the cost of maintaining a too numerous bureaucracy and the armies necessary to secure Rome from the enemies at her frontier.

The danger of invasion from the North and the problem of defending an extended frontier had been the inevitable sequel of Roman expansion beyond the boundaries of Italy. At the

¹ The chief ancient source for these matters is the *Theodosian Code*. For a succinct but excellent modern account see F. Lot, *La fin du monde antique et le début du moyen âge* (Paris, 1927), pp. 115-53.

end of the second century B.C. the invasion of the Cimbri, Teutones, and other tribes, which had threatened not only Italy but the recently acquired Roman province of Narbonese Gaul, was finally repelled by Marius. In the hundred years that followed, the genius of Julius Caesar and of Augustus created a new frontier by enlarging Rome's dominions, and gave the capital and Italy greater security at the cost of vastly greater responsibilities. Caesar's conquest of Gaul, and the operations of Augustus's generals at intervals during a quarter of a century, advanced the Empire to the natural barriers of the Rhine and the Danube. The more ambitious plan of shortening the line of defence by pushing the boundary eastwards from the Rhine to the Elbe proved impracticable and was abandoned by Augustus and Tiberius. But under their successors, from Vespasian to Hadrian, although no attempt was made to repeat in full the costly experiment of Augustus, a less ambitious rectification of the frontiers was carried out by constructing a series of defence-works (the so-called *limes Germanicus* and *limes Raeticus*) running south-east and east from the Rhine opposite Cologne to Heinheim on the Danube. The total length of this fortified line was nearly three hundred and fifty miles. The acquisition of new territory beyond the Rhine which preceded these military works had, of course, not passed off without some fighting against German tribes. But as these did not at this time succeed in forming any considerable coalition against Rome, the task of breaking down their opposition was relatively simple. On the lower Danube the most notable event of these years was the conquest of Dacia by Trajan. Some sixty years later the northern frontier defences were put to the first severe test. The importance of the so-called Marcomannic wars of Marcus Aurelius has sometimes been greatly underrated, mainly perhaps because reliable information about them is so scanty. But it seems clear that the incursions of Germanic tribes at various points into the Roman border provinces were largely the result of concerted action and had as their cause the pressure exerted on the tribes nearest to the Danube by the extensive migrations of more northerly peoples. Of these the most considerable was that of the Goths. Tradition places their earliest home in Southern Scandinavia; in the middle of the second century, however, they were settled on the lower Vistula. By A.D. 200, or shortly after, the whole nation was established in South Russia, and little more than a decade later they were the immediate neighbours of the Roman province of Dacia. In

270, finally, prudence or necessity induced Aurelian to evacuate Dacia in face of the Gothic encroachments into the territory between the Theiss and the Pruth.

From the death of Septimius Severus to the reign of Aurelian the attacks of Germanic neighbours contributed not a little to the anarchic confusion which threatened to disrupt the Roman dominions. While Goths and Herulians raided the eastern Mediterranean coastlands, and Saxons made descents on the Gallic and British shores, the Alamanni and the Franks pressed forward to the upper and the lower Rhine. In the East the rulers of the new Sassanian dynasty of Persia showed their warlike ardour and skill by robbing Rome of a part of her eastern possessions and even taking prisoner a Roman emperor.

The relief from barbarian attacks which the emperors of the late third century and Constantine afforded to the harassed inhabitants of the Empire was only temporary, not permanent. In the fourth and fifth centuries, while the Roman resources in men and material, and consequently the Roman power of resistance, steadily grew less, the forward movements of the northern peoples continued with increasing frequency. Nor was the experiment, tried by some emperors, of enlisting some of the Germanic tribes as allies (*foederati*) of the Empire and obtaining their military services, particularly to secure the frontiers, in return for heavy subsidies of food or money, without its dangers. The precise date at which the Gothic nation was divided into a western (Visigothic) and an eastern (Ostrogothic) group is uncertain; most probably it was the result of, or at least an early sequel to, the series of migrations which occupied the last forty years of the second century. At all events their development in the period during which their history was interwoven with that of Rome was independent and shows a noteworthy difference in political organization. The Visigoths owed allegiance to no single monarch, at least until the very end of the fourth century, but were composed of a number of groups, each with its own chief. In questions affecting the people as a whole it was the chiefs who guided the deliberations of the nation and often determined the issue. And the special prestige of one chief would lead to his election as generalissimo in time of war, when single rather than divided authority was expedient, even as the Homeric Agamemnon, though no more than *primus inter pares*, owed his position to his paramount influence. The Ostrogoths in the third and fourth centuries were ruled by kings; of these the best known

was Ermanaric, reputed to have created a great Gothic empire which collapsed before the assaults of the Huns in 370. When nearly forty years before that date Constantine came to a forced agreement with the Visigoths, and, in return for heavy subsidies, was able to enrol them as *foederati* of the Empire, both branches of the Gothic nation were still heathen. But in, or shortly after 340, a Goth, Wulfilas, who had been reared in Cappadocia and subsequently in Constantinople where he had been converted to Christianity, began to labour as a missionary in Dacia after he had been duly consecrated bishop by Eusebius of Nicomedia. The work of Wulfilas was in every way momentous. For, although after a few years his labours to the north of the Danube were cut short by persecutions instituted by Visigothic chiefs, so that the bishop and his new converts were forced to seek refuge in Roman territory south of the river, the seed had been sown, and the conversion of the Goths and other Germanic peoples was then only a matter of time. Moreover, Wulfilas translated a portion of the Scriptures into Gothic after he had fashioned a Gothic alphabet derived partly from the Greek, partly from the runes of the Northmen. One further aspect of this missionary enterprise is important. Wulfilas had been taught the Arian creed and had been consecrated by an Arian bishop. Hence the Goths, and the related tribes to whom the new religion was spread from them, were won over to the Arian, not to the orthodox communion. This circumstance was to complicate their relations with the imperial government by the superimposition of doctrinal on political differences.

Of the West German tribes the most formidable for many years were the Alamanni, a branch of the Suevic people, who had already unsuccessfully threatened the Raetian frontier in the reign of Caracallus. Further assaults by them and by the Franks on the lower Rhine followed later, so that by 260 the right bank of the river and all that lay east thereof passed out of Roman control, after the elaborate defence works forming the two *limites* had been destroyed. During the long reign of Constantius (337-361) the safety of Gaul was endangered by serious raids across the Rhine. The victory of the Caesar, Julian, over the Alamanni in 357 eased the pressure for only a few years. At the same date the Franks were compelled to submit to Roman suzerainty.

A new and unforeseen complication in Rome's problem of frontier defence was introduced in 370 by the arrival of a Mongolian people, the Huns, in South Russia. Unfortunately

for themselves and for their neighbours, the Visigoths were at that time divided amongst themselves owing to the rivalry of their two most prominent chieftains, Athanaric and Fritigern. A united front presented to the Asiatic hordes by both the western and the eastern Gothic peoples might perhaps have stemmed the tide of invasion. Actually the kingdom of Ermanaric collapsed and the Ostrogoths with some neighbouring tribes became the subjects of the Hun. A few years later Athanaric and his followers after a severe defeat withdrew behind the barrier of the Carpathians. The rest of the Visigothic nation, led by Fritigern, applied to the emperor Valens in 376 for land on which they might make their homes. The permission to settle in Moesia was given, but the process of settlement, especially when more and more fugitives, including a part of the Ostrogoths, appeared across the frontier, did not pass off without friction between the immigrants on the one hand and the Roman authorities and the older population on the other. Before the end of 376 the emperor found himself at war with the Goths and some lesser peoples. Simultaneously Gratian in the West had all that he could do to check a renewed attack of the Alamanni on the upper Rhine. After two years of indecisive fighting Valens was disastrously defeated at the battle of Adrianople, in which two-thirds of the Roman army perished. The Goths failed, however, to capture any of the fortified cities which they attacked. By 382 Theodosius I succeeded in effecting a settlement. The Visigoths became *foederati*, binding themselves to render military service for the emperor when required. In return they received land in Moesia as well as payments in kind or money. Thus a numerous Germanic people was installed within the Empire, and one on which Theodosius relied more and more to furnish troops for his later campaigns. Moreover, the permeation of the Empire with the Northerners went on apace, so that in the half-century following many of the most powerful ministers of state and generals of the emperor in the West were of Germanic stock.¹ After the death of Theodosius I the disintegration of the western half of the Empire was greatly accelerated. It will suffice to point out the chief stages in the process of dismemberment.

The Visigoths, who had abandoned their former political organization and chosen a king, Alaric, in 395 openly revolted against Rome. For two years Alaric with his men overran and ravaged the Balkan peninsula. In 401, after four years

¹ *E.g.* Arbogastes, Merobaudes, Stilicho, and Gainas.

of quiescence, he attacked Italy itself but was repulsed ; once more he and his people withdrew for some years to Epirus. Meanwhile, as the danger to Italy from attacks on the north and north-east had been so recently demonstrated, Honorius and his advisers withdrew large bodies of troops from the Rhine defences in order to be secure nearer home. The opportunity was seized by the trans-Rhenane tribes. In 406 a great horde of Germans—Suevi, Asding Vandals, and Siling Vandals—and the Alans, who originally were of Iranian stock and had, like the Goths, been driven by the Huns from their home in South Russia, crossed the Rhine and swarmed into Gaul. Two years later Alaric and his Visigoths descended anew on Italy, this time with disastrous success, culminating in the capture and sack of Rome in 410. Alaric survived his triumph only a few months. His successors now turned their attention to Gaul and Spain ; it was in Gaul that they were finally settled (after 418), technically still counted *foederati* of the Empire. In the meantime the Vandals and Suevi and Alans had pushed on across the Pyrenees and occupied the Spanish peninsula, a situation which the emperor was forced to accept. In 429 the Vandals under their able if ruthless king, Gaiseric, evacuated Southern Spain to invade North Africa. Thus another Roman province passed into barbarian hands. For nearly two generations the Vandal kingdom of Africa, gradually enlarged by the addition of Corsica, Sardinia, the Balearic Islands and Lilybacum in Sicily, was the most dangerous enemy of the reduced Roman Empire, the more so as the Vandals, unlike the other Germanic invaders, took successfully to the sea, and their fleets harried the Mediterranean coasts and more than once threatened to starve out Rome and Italy.

Early in the fifth century the evacuation of Britain still further narrowed the territories of Rome. In the third decade of the same century the westward expansion of the Huns represented a new peril on the north-eastern boundaries of the Empire. This Hunnish realm attained its greatest extent under Attila (444–454). The real ruler in the Western Empire from 433 to 454 was the Master of both Services (*magister utriusque militiae*), Aetius. Thanks to a good understanding with the Huns, and partly with their military help, he succeeded in holding south-eastern and central Gaul for the Empire against a ring of Germanic peoples. For the Visigoths at that time occupied Aquitaine, the Burgundians were established in Savoy, and the Franks in Northern Gaul. But, when in 451 Valentinian refused the demands of Attila, who was now at

the height of his power, the latter invaded Gaul. The skilful diplomacy of Aetius was now demonstrated. He was able to enrol the Franks and Visigoths on the side of Rome. Attila was checked near Orléans and then defeated near Troyes. In 452 he invaded Northern Italy, but was induced to come to terms. In the next year he died, and almost at once the Hunnish empire collapsed. For in 454 a coalition of German tribes who had lately been subjects of the Hun and had fought for him, defeated the Hunnish forces. From this date Huns ceased to play any part in history. The peoples who had conquered them settled partly north, partly south of the Danube. Of special significance was the establishment of the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, since this powerful nation was thus brought into close proximity to Italy. The Western emperors were little more than nominal rulers; the actual power from 456 to 472 was in the hands of a master of the soldiery, Ricimer, who, like so many prominent officers before, was of Germanic descent. Four years after his death a rising of Germanic troops, who asked for land on which to settle in Italy, led to the establishment of their leader, Odovacar, as king of Italy. The Eastern emperor, Zeno, acquiesced in what he was powerless to prevent; and, while claiming that his imperial authority extended also to the West, designated Odovacar governor of Italy and a patrician of the Empire. But Odovacar's reign endured for seventeen years. Then the Ostrogothic king, Theodoric, after five years of war, stepped into his place and founded an Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy which lasted for almost half a century (493-540). He, too, won imperial recognition from Constantinople. In the interval momentous changes had taken place in what were once the western provinces of the Roman Empire. While Raetia and Noricum were occupied by the Alamanni and other tribes, the Salic Franks under Clovis in 486 made themselves master of that portion of Gaul which till then had still acknowledged the authority of Rome. Now the country contained two major Germanic kingdoms, the Frankish and the Visigothic, the River Loire being the boundary between them, and the smaller Burgundian state. Before his death in 511 Clovis had wrested a good part of their Gaulish territory from the Visigoths and had compelled the Burgundians to accept his overlordship. One important fact remains to be noted. The Franks who were the latest of the Germanic invaders to develop a powerful kingdom were also the only people who till the time of Clovis had continued to be faithful to their ancient gods. The conversion of the

monarch and his people to Christianity was in itself a significant occurrence ; even more striking, however, was the circumstance that they accepted the orthodox, not the Arian confession. This fact was to have a far-reaching influence on the political history of Western Europe in the sixth and seventh centuries. It ensured the ultimate triumph of orthodoxy there ; it also made possible the gradual fusion of, even as it rapidly obliterated existing antipathies between, the Frankish people and the older Gallo-Roman population. The more transitory character of the other Germanic states, save the Visigothic kingdom in Spain which ended by becoming orthodox, was due at least in part to doctrinal differences between the older inhabitants and the invaders, which militated against the blending of the two elements into a homogeneous political whole.

It will be sufficiently apparent from the brief sketch just given that there was nothing cataclysmic about the Germanic invasions. The decline and fall of the Western Empire was a gradual process lasting two centuries ; in that interval the change was not all on one side. All, or nearly all, the invaders had become to some extent familiar with Roman institutions and Roman culture. Many of them alternated between hostility to Rome and alliance with her as *foederati*. And, even when they were her political enemies and invaded her territories, they were filled with awe at her name and respected her venerable civilization. Men like Odovacar and Theodoric were quite content to recognize the titular authority of the emperor in Constantinople, provided that their own position as monarchs under imperial licence was regularized. Nor did Clovis disdain to receive from the emperor in the East, Anastasius, the *insignia* of a Roman consul. Furthermore, we must be on our guard against the exaggerations of the contemporary Latin writers. In not a few cases where they relate the total destruction of a town or a district at the hands of the barbarians, archaeological exploration has shown such narratives to be grossly overdrawn. Many sites suffered only partial damage and soon recovered some semblance of their old prosperity. Others, though they might be in ruins for a short time, were not permanently abandoned, but were resettled after a brief interval. In fine, just as the Roman Empire had been permeated with Germanic blood long before its fall, so the German nations before and during their advance into the Empire became steadily and increasingly Romanized.

(b) THE CHURCH

Constantine's edict of toleration radically altered the position of the Christian minorities in the Empire. The communities of the Faithful, which for three centuries had either been illicit organizations, or, even when tolerated by the highest authority, were without legal status, now came into the category of permitted associations. The Christians, who hitherto had always been liable to suffer individually or in groups as the result of outbursts of popular hostility in the several provinces of the Roman world, and in whose lives during the sixty years before the edict of Milan a precarious toleration had alternated with rigorous persecution by the imperial government, could now live in and by their faith without let or hindrance; and, if religious differences provoked disturbances of the peace, they could, if wronged, claim the redress under the law that was the right of all citizens, Christian and non-Christian alike. Within less than a decade, moreover, from 313 the Church had secured from the emperor the right to corporate ownership of property, and, like other lawful organizations, could receive testamentary bequests. As a result the wealth of the Church grew with remarkable swiftness. Even if nothing further had developed from these changes they would have been noteworthy enough; actually the fourth century witnessed a transformation which deserves to be called revolutionary. With the exception of Julian, all the emperors from Constantine I were Christian rulers. The adherents of a religion which was not only permitted but fostered by the imperial family increased with such rapidity that at the death of Theodosius (395) the Christians in the Empire were in a marked majority. Constantine and his successors, in fact, were not merely tolerant of Christianity and its adherents, but active proselytizers. Theodosius, whose early years were distinguished by a certain tolerant indifference, towards the end of his reign displayed a rigid and very active orthodoxy. He took steps to suppress all pagan rites and sacrifices within the Empire. In Rome, Italy, and the West these coercive measures were on the whole attended by little disturbance. But in the East, especially in Syria and Egypt, they produced riots and not a little bloodshed. The imperial government did not, however, attempt, like the Church militant of a later date, to dictate the beliefs of the individual. And so adherents of pagan religions, though constantly diminishing in number, continued to exist for many years. Nor were the schools of philosophy at Athens finally suppressed until the time of Justinian. In

country districts pagan superstitions and practices survived fitfully for centuries amongst a nominally Christian peasantry. Their eradication was a never-ending anxiety to the Church and her ministers.

Even before 313 the ecclesiastical organization had travelled a long way from the simple system of the primitive Church. The democratic election of elders by each congregation had been gradually superseded, as a purely parochial arrangement no longer sufficed for a steadily expanding body, by a more monarchic method of government which developed side by side with the growth of a more elaborate hierarchy. In the fourth century this evolution was more rapid than before. The Church which waxed so quickly in size and authority began to derive inspiration from the civil law of the Empire for her own purposes. From this and from the decisions of councils and synods, over and above the authority of the Bible and tradition handed down from Apostolic times, there developed, slowly but steadily, the impressive body of canon law. So, too, in the matter of administration: the organization of the temporal state became the model for the ecclesiastical. Moreover, the influence of the bishops was not confined to the spiritual care of their flocks. Roman civil law had long recognized the settlement of civil suits by a private arbiter approved by both litigants. Between two Christians such matters had been most usually adjudicated by the religious head of the community. What before could, in the case of Christians, only be an amicable but private arrangement between coreligionists, was approved *de iure* by Constantine. It was a far more radical innovation when a more general civil jurisdiction was entrusted to the bishops, which in theory put them on the same footing with civil officials charged with the administration of the law, while in practice, thanks to their prestige in their communities, their juridical authority tended to be more highly regarded and sought after than that of purely secular judges. The functions performed by such ecclesiastical tribunals became more and more important. Similarly we can trace the growth of episcopal influence and leadership in urban and municipal government throughout the Empire. And not a few instances could be cited to show how, during the stress of foreign invasions and in time of war, bishops took the lead in organizing the defence of towns and districts, displaying as exemplary a devotion to the call of national patriotism as they did to the especial duties of their religious office. But, if there is much to admire in the growth to

maturity of this still youthful organism, much, too, to reverence in the selfless dedication to the highest calls of religion not only of many leaders of the Church but of countless other Christian men, it cannot be disguised that there were also some much less pleasing aspects of ecclesiastical history during the fourth and fifth centuries.

The transmutation of a despised cult into a state religion was not effected without moral and spiritual loss. All too often worldliness and love of the good things of this life contrasted glaringly with the lofty ethics of the primitive Christian communities, even as they gave the lie to the efficacy of the Church's teaching, whose moral standards had not been lowered. Not less painful is the effect produced by contemplating the disunion and often rancorous quarrels in the Christian body as a whole, and their concomitant religious intolerance. It is, nevertheless, as dangerous as it is unjustified to judge of these manifestations with a mind filled with twentieth-century liberalism, which often is merely a polite name for indifference. The absence of a central ecclesiastical authority for the whole Christian world, as well as the attitude of the temporal power and its relations with the Church, were productive of various complications. Nor could the same acceptance of authority and the same unquestioning faith be expected in the sophisticated world of the Empire, in which half a hundred religions and philosophies had grown up and thrived for centuries, as in a simpler and untutored society like the Germanic peoples. As has already been indicated, their acceptance of Arianism proved to be a disruptive force, once the invaders settled as conquerors in Roman territory. In the development of the ecclesiastical hierarchy the bishops of provincial capitals, the so-called metropolitans, gradually acquired a certain pre-eminence over the other bishops in the province. Besides this, certain sees, whose origin, though simpler in form, went back to Apostolic or sub-Apostolic days, were invested with a special influence and sanctity. Such in the eastern half of the Empire were Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. These sees, together with Constantinople, whose bishop, as exercising in the new Eastern capital his spiritual sway, soon claimed equal rank, have, under the more impressive title of patriarchates, retained their pre-eminence in the Eastern Church to this day. In the West, however, only the bishop of Rome could claim a similarly outstanding position. The further development in the East and the West was strikingly different. The emperors at Constantinople kept a controlling hand over the Church and clergy

and were, in effect, heads of both Church and State. In the West this Caesaropapism, as it has been called, could not develop. There the emperors during the fifth century were for the most part mere puppets; after 476 their place was taken by Germanic kings. Step by step, though not without occasional set-backs, the bishops of Rome acquired an ultimate supremacy in the West in all spiritual matters. Outstanding personalities, like Leo I or Gelasius in the fifth, or Gregory I in the late sixth century, exerted a leading influence in temporal affairs as well.

Almost from the first the emperor was drawn into religious controversy. For Constantine, soon after his final triumph over Licinius, intervened in the dispute between the opponents and the followers of Arius. The outcome of this was the first œcumenical council of the Church, held at Nicaea in 325, and the formulation of the orthodox confession which derives its name from it. But although the emperors might take steps to convene a representative body of prelates to decide a question of faith or doctrine, they did not, as a rule, attempt to impose their own will in spiritual questions.¹ Similarly the election of bishops was carried out by the leaders of the Church without interference from the secular power. For the cases where a see was filled by an imperial nominee are not sufficiently numerous to invalidate the general truth of our contention. Again, the deposition of a bishop, which in any case would only result from condemnation for a major offence, such as heresy, addiction to magic, or gross immorality, was effected by his peers. In short, the intervention of the government normally occurred either at the request of the Church, where it had need of the secular arm, or, if an ecclesiastical offender was guilty of a crime against the state. Compared with that of laymen, even those of the highest rank, the position of bishops was undoubtedly privileged. A certain sacrosanctity enshrouded the spiritual leader, which the imperial official lacked. There are not a few examples of bishops speaking or acting unchecked with a freedom or even contumacy against the emperor which, coming from a layman, would have been followed by swift and condign punishment. Yet even amongst the princes of the Church there were few who dared to proceed with the boldness of Ambrose. Pagan rites were gradually suppressed and pagan temples closed. The eradication of

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heresy and faction in the Church by the emperors was often less successful. The outstanding example of such failure was in North Africa, where no measures, however harsh, availed against the Donatists. Again, the blind zeal and partisanship with which the entire population of a province supported its leading prelate, as did the people of Alexandria and Egypt theirs, was a grave danger to the public peace, if that spiritual leader was engaged in embittered controversy with Antioch or Constantinople. The Theodosian Code contains a number of ordinances promulgated against heretical sects. Yet even many of the smaller managed to maintain themselves for long periods. Even if no more active steps were taken to enforce the law, their members were penalized in various ways by the government, for instance, by being excluded from office or government employ, or by forfeiting their testamentary rights.

It remains to refer to one special development within the Church which was to a great extent the outcome of that relaxation of ethical standards and decline from the pristine austerity of a persecuted Church, to which allusion has already been made. Asceticism, whether accompanied by withdrawal from all human society or practised with others in a communal fellowship, was far older than Christianity. While simplicity of life and abstention from worldly pleasures were general among the early Christians, there were from the beginning always some who, without forsaking their communities, were distinguished by exceptional austerity and self-renunciation. There were also some sects, like the Montanists, whose tenets were unusually narrow and rigid. The beginnings of Christian monasticism, however, do not go back further than the concluding years of the third century. Egypt was the country of its origin and Saint Antony its founder. His younger contemporary, Pachomius, while animated by an equally intense desire to leave the world and for the abnegation of carnal things, formed a somewhat different conception of the monastic ideal. For, whereas Antony was an eremite who in his desert retreat shunned the society of all men, even of ascetics like himself, the monastic settlements founded by Pachomius in Upper Egypt were to some extent cenobitic, that is to say, all the monks in them obeyed one superior and their life was not wholly solitary but communal in part. Both men had many disciples and imitators, so that before long the desert regions of Lower and Upper Egypt were thronged by thousands desirous, by fleeing from the temptations of this world and combining a life of prayer and contemplation with bodily

privations and mortifications, to fit themselves for the bliss of the world to come. Monasticism had not long found a footing in Egypt when similar scenes of renunciation were enacted in other regions of the Near East. In Syria the anchoretic type of monastic life predominated; at the same time the self-torture practised by the most fanatical of the solitaries far surpassed the severest austerities even of an Antony. So grotesque were some of these excesses that even a great Catholic historian of the early Church is moved to compare them to the extravagances of Indian fakirs.¹ In the rest of the Greek-speaking world, notably in Asia Minor, monasticism was inspired from Egypt and more especially by the practice of Pachomius. The lead in personal example and in organization was taken by Eustathius and by Basil the Great. On the body of rules which bear the latter's name the monastic discipline of the Greek Church has ever since been based. Basil's monasteries were cenobitic and the life in the religious community was austere; but he discouraged severe mortification, and, while emphasizing that the brethren must engage in constant work, disapproved of any extremity of asceticism that would interfere with their useful labours. Monasticism was introduced in the West by Athanasius and received a great stimulus from the example of St. Martin, who founded settlements first at Ligugé near Poitiers and later at Tours. Their practice was more eremitical than cenobitic. Each monk had his own cell and only forgathered with his fellows for prayer on stated occasions. Monastic foundations soon multiplied in other parts of Gaul and were established in Italy also. The house of St. Victor at Marseilles and the monastic settlements at Lérins exerted a specially wide influence.² At Lérins the example and precepts of John Cassian entitle him to rank among the foremost promoters of the religious life. His ideal he found in the monasticism of Egypt, and in his own convent we find the anchoretic combined with the cenobitic life, the former being regarded as the more perfect form of renunciation practised by the older monks. Nor must we overlook the great influence exerted by Jerome. He himself embraced the religious life before he was thirty, and from 385 to his death in 419 remained continuously in the convent that he had founded at Bethlehem. While in Rome he had inspired with his own religious zeal a group of cultured women who thereupon vowed themselves to a life of virginity

¹ L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'église*, II, p. 517.

² See below, p. 27.

and renunciation of the world. The passionate ardour of Jerome met with not a little opposition in Rome. While he condemned in unequivocal terms the luxurious self-indulgence of the age, which was nowise in keeping with the teaching of Christ or of His Church, there were not wanting those who, like Helvidius, Jovinian, and Vigilantius, were rash enough to take up their pens against him and the asceticism that he preached. The treatises in which Jerome replied to his several opponents, inasmuch as they defended asceticism and glorified especially the life of virginity, served to set his ideals more clearly before the world. But the violence of the polemic passages, particularly in the treatise against Jovinian, shocked not a few of Jerome's admirers, and the zeal of the saint to some extent overshot the mark. Of more constructive value for the cause which he had so deeply at heart was his Latin version of the *Rules* of Pachomius. In this way a work of basic importance—indeed, it is the earliest of all monastic rules—was made accessible to the Latin-speaking world. It was perhaps inevitable that a new institution and one, moreover, which grew with astonishing rapidity, should also attract unworthy persons and should be marred by excesses. In the time of Benedict of Nursia, and again in that of Gregory I, there were many complaints of irregularities and laxity in monastic houses. Nevertheless, not only was monasticism in the West destined to a long life, but its devoted followers performed a unique service for civilization during centuries to come.

CHAPTER II

PAGAN EDUCATION AND THE CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE

(a) PAGAN EDUCATION AND LETTERS

THE Roman system of elementary and higher education, in spite of minor modifications, remained essentially unchanged for many centuries. In the first century of our era boys received their earliest grounding in the school of a *litterator*, who was commonly a slave or a freedman. The children of the wealthy, it is true, often learnt the elements from a tutor at home. The second stage of his education began when, at the age of about twelve, a boy attended the classes of the *grammaticus*, both Greek and Latin. It is immaterial for our purpose whether instruction in both fields was given in the same or in two separate establishments. The curriculum consisted in studying Greek and Latin literature, mainly the poets, together with grammar, syntax, and some tuition in history, mythology, and elementary mathematics (arithmetic). The third step was the study of rhetoric. Two observations are called for in connexion with the second and third stages of educational progress. Attendance at the schools of the *grammatici* and of the rhetoricians was confined to a minority, to the sons of parents who, in an economic sense, might be said to belong to the middle and upper classes. Also, although the threefold division is convenient, it is perhaps not wholly accurate because there does not appear always to have been a sharp separation between the work done with the *grammaticus* and the introductory lessons in rhetoric. Quintilian, for example, wished the spheres of the teacher of literature and of the *rhetor* to be kept strictly apart, but he speaks as if in contemporary practice the separation was not always observed.¹ It may also be noted that the time at which rhetorical studies were begun varied a good deal, even if the normal age was fifteen. The study of prose writers, which formed the most advanced part of the curriculum with the *grammaticus*, together with some

¹ See the opening chapters of Book II of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*.

practice in composition, prepared the way for the studies carried on under the *rhetor*. With him a more intensive application to the prose authors, and especially to the orators, would be a necessary preparation for elaborate spoken and written exercises of different types (*suasoriae* and *controversiae*). Philosophy, the sciences, and jurisprudence were advanced subjects, commonly lying outside the progressive curriculum which has been outlined above. The profoundest theorists on education, like Cicero and Quintilian, might indeed maintain that the perfect 'orator' must not pass by any of the branches of human knowledge. But in practice philosophy and science were neglected in Latin-speaking portions of the Empire. The study of law, on the other hand, was vocationally important for the sons of the upper classes, who planned to make a career in the imperial civil service. Roman rhetoric lacked the vitality of Greek rhetoric, which in the eastern half of the Mediterranean world kept itself alive for a thousand years, or, in other words, well into the sixth century after Christ. The former declined rapidly after A.D. 100. It produced no greatly successful teachers like Quintilian, and, in the sphere of public lectures and declamations, the Latin *rhetores* could not hold their own against their Greek rivals. Apuleius of Madaura in North Africa was, indeed, a solitary figure in the second century of our era. His prose is essentially an attempt to reproduce in Latin the rhetorical displays of the Greek Sophists. Like them he travelled to various places, giving public addresses and declamations. He is easily the most interesting literary personage of the second century, but as a successful Latin Sophist he remained an isolated figure. The second century was a precious age. In Roman Republican days schoolboys were taught from the early poets of Rome, Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Ennius. From the Augustan age on, authors like Horace and especially Vergil replaced the early poets in the schoolroom. A little later Lucan's *Pharsalia* shared a similar fate, while Statius in his lifetime anticipated that his *Thebaid* would become a school-text. In a similar way the more recent ousted the older writers of prose, the popularity of Cicero outshining all the rest. We cannot doubt that the pupils found the change from archaic and in part uncouth writers to those who were contemporary or nearly so an agreeable experience.

But in the second century there was a curious reaction, which affected Latin literature as well as school practice.

This was no less than the cultivation of a wilful archaism. The Augustan and post-Augustan poets, with the exception of Vergil whose position was unassailable from the first, were set aside, and it became fashionable to take down from dusty shelves and to praise extravagantly authors like Ennius. The earliest prose writers, too, came into fashion again. For when Hadrian's preference of Ennius and Cato the Elder to Vergil and Cicero became known, admiring or obsequious subjects could scarcely do less than imitate the imperial taste. But this archaistic craze was not merely skin-deep. It radically affected the prose writers of the later second century. Apuleius, Fronto, Aulus Gellius, all use unusual, sometimes strange-sounding words, some of which were certainly taken from the vernacular, while others must be counted with equal certainty as archaizing revivals. Gellius's and Fronto's works, moreover, abound with quotations from the early Latin writers. The Antonine period has often been lauded as the golden age of the Roman world; yet it was intellectually arid and, as far as works written in Latin are concerned, wellnigh barren of creative literature. Men lived in the past and inspiration was for the most part dead. Public taste as a whole was satisfied with the showy but generally vapid declamations of Greek Sophists. The intellectual decline which began in the age of the Antonines continued in the following century, when social and political conditions were far less favourable to literary production than in the days of Antoninus or Marcus Aurelius. Yet there are certain tendencies and a number of works, which may be uninteresting and unoriginal in themselves, but cannot be disregarded by any student of early mediaeval thought and education.

We may begin with historical composition. With the exception of Ammianus Marcellinus, who flourished in the second half of the fourth century, the Roman world produced no historical writer of the first rank after the death of Tacitus (*c.* 118). Historians, whose medium of expression was Greek, there continued to be, but even Cassius Dio (*c.* 220), who was the best of them, is not much more than mediocre. But in the Latin-speaking world men ceased to be productive. Popular taste, too, found the standard histories of an earlier age too long. Abbreviations were demanded and a supply was soon forthcoming. Epitomes of Livy, like that by Florus in the age of Hadrian, show that the demand for 'potted' history began early. Others followed Florus's example. Slightly more original minds put together brief historical summaries

from several sources. Others, with their eyes on the schools of rhetoric, where such morsels could be successfully utilized to deck out declamations, enlivened dry chronological accounts by the addition of 'chatty' anecdotes, which often enough were quite fictitious. In this style, too, the example had already been set in the first century by Valerius Maximus (c. 30). There was thus a body of so-called historical works of various dates—Valerius, the *Lives* of Nepos, Florus, Eutropius (fourth century), Aurelius Victor (fourth century), and an anonymous adaptation of Victor made in the fifth century—which are important for our purpose. For it was these, and not the works of Livy or Tacitus, that, with rare exceptions, supplied the early Middle Ages with their information about Roman and pre-Christian history. It is the same with geography and ethnography and kindred studies. The *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder may be an amorphous and unoriginal work; but it is a storehouse of facts. Yet the number of mediæval scholars who knew Pliny at first hand was very small. Much more popular was the work of Solinus (third century), which was short and at the same time catered to popular taste because it contained many stories of fabulous men and beasts. The brief geography by Julius Honorius, of which several versions have survived, did for that science what the epitomators did for history.

Grammar and the study of language had flourished in the Alexandrian age, when the contemporary literature was undistinguished in comparison with the great days of the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ. The situation in the later Roman Empire was not wholly unlike this. For from the third to the fifth centuries a wealth of grammatical treatises and other school-books was produced in Latin, many of which were transmitted to the Middle Ages and determined the character of much of the instruction given in the mediæval schools. We cannot do more than indicate a few of the more noteworthy of these productions. Amongst commentaries on classical authors we may single out Porphyrius's on Horace (third century), Donatus's on Terence, and, above all, that by Servius on Vergil (fourth century). Of the treatise on Latin words (*De verborum significatu*) by Festus (fourth century) only a small part has survived; for the rest we depend on an abbreviation made by Paul the Deacon at the end of the eighth century. Festus's book is valuable chiefly because it was directly based on the work of the learned Verrius Flaccus, the contemporary of Augustus. From Festus much linguistic

and antiquarian lore passed into early mediaeval glossaries, whence it found its way, as we shall see, into the teachings and writings of monastic scholars. The *Compendiosa doctrina* of Nonius Marcellus (early fifth century) may be described as half grammar, half dictionary. It is badly arranged and not the work of a very intelligent man. But it was popular in some regions during the Middle Ages, just as it is of some importance to modern philologists because of the numerous citations from lost authors which it contains. The writers on grammar and syntax, or on certain portions of those subjects were many. It will suffice to mention three.¹ Marius Victorinus, who was born in Africa at the beginning of the fourth century, was already well advanced in years when he migrated to Rome. His success there as a *rhetor* was phenomenal, and we are told that the enthusiastic Romans set up a statue to him in the forum of Trajan. He became a convert to Christianity and for that reason was obliged to abandon his profession in 362, when Julian prohibited Christians from teaching in the schools. His declining years Victorinus spent in the exegesis of St. Paul's Epistles and in composing polemical works against the Arians and the Manichaeans. Unlike the majority of *rhetoires* at that date, he was also interested in philosophy, translating the *Isagoge* of the Neo-Platonist Porphyry and writing commentaries on certain works of Aristotle and Cicero. He was further the author of an *Ars grammatica*, which only attained to a limited circulation in the Middle Ages, for it was quite outshone by the two treatises of Aelius Donatus, to whose Terence commentary allusion has already been made. Donatus, who has the distinction of having taught St. Jerome, besides his success as a teacher in Rome, became famous as the author of two grammatical works. The *Ars minor* was an elementary grammar for schoolboys, which retained its popularity in the schools until the sixteenth century.² The *Ars maior* was no less successful, though, being an advanced treatise on grammar, syntax, and the figures of speech, it was not copied in the Middle Ages as often as the elementary text. Although it is considerably later in date, being in fact a work of the sixth century, the

¹ The interested reader can easily see how numerous these grammarians were by glancing at the seven volumes of Keil's *Grammatici Latini*.

² A Latin text with an English version of the *Ars minor* has recently been published by W. J. Chase (*Wisconsin Studies in Social Science*, II, 1926).

grammar of Priscian may be conveniently mentioned here. For, next to the two *Artes* of Donatus, it became the most frequently consulted grammatical work of the mediæval period. We shall see later that its numerous Greek quotations made it particularly valuable in those monastic centres in which the study of that language was at least for a time revived.

Four other works by pagan writers of the later Empire must next engage our attention. The so-called *Disticha Catonis* in their earliest form seem to have been put together by a Latin *rhetor* before the end of the third century. This collection of ethical maxims or precepts was intended as a schoolbook from the first, and the pupils were expected to memorize its contents. Few books have had a greater success. The moral teaching conveyed in short couplets and couched in tersely idiomatic Latin was suitable for even the most austere brought-up monastery pupils. Additions were made to the original collection, while in the Carolingian Age a freer adaptation of uncertain authorship was produced. Its full title was *Praecepta vivendi per singulos versus quae monastica (i.e. monosticha) dicuntur*.¹ Extant manuscripts of both the earlier and the Carolingian versions are extremely numerous. An all but unique influence was exercised through the Middle Ages by the treatise entitled *The nuptials of Mercury and Philology*. Its author, Martianus Capella, seems to have been an advocate by profession and to have composed the book in his old age. Various dates have been suggested for its composition, the most probable being the first third of the fifth century. It is divided into nine books and is in essence a treatise on the seven liberal arts. But it was made more attractive to the taste of the time by being cast into the form of a mythological story and by being decked out with much allegory which strikes the modern reader as exceedingly fantastic. The language, too, is highly ornate and full of sophistic conceits. Nevertheless the core is sound, so that the student who has succeeded in disregarding the meretricious adornments of the book and in mastering the eccentricities of style and language, will find the embedded teaching, especially in the sections on grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, far

¹ Both Columban and Alcuin have been suggested as the author of this version, but in neither case with sufficient proof. The *Disticha Catonis* with an English translation were published by W. J. Chase in the *Wisconsin Studies in Social Science*, 7, 1923. Unfortunately the edition has a good many shortcomings, on which see Boas in *Philologische Wochenschrift*, 47 (1927), coll. 524-33.

from contemptible. The men of the Middle Ages at least had this experience. For, even if the form of the work also appealed to them in a way which is to us surprising, they would assuredly not have assigned to it a supremacy in the schools, if it had not had very solid merits.

The allusion we have made to the seven liberal arts requires a word of comment. To Martianus and to the men of the mediaeval period this scholastic canon embraced grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. In this form the canon can first be traced in Augustine, although the so-called Ambrosiaster a little earlier lists six out of the seven.¹ But four centuries earlier Varro had grouped together and had elucidated nine 'arts' or 'disciplines', namely, the seven given above together with medicine and architecture. Cicero, while he uses the terms *artes liberales* and *liberalis disciplina*, offers his readers no complete list in any one place. Others, for example Vitruvius and Galen, drew up lists differing somewhat from that of Varro. But it was not until late in the fourth century after Christ that the canonical number was fixed as well as the separate subjects. Established firmly by Martianus and approved by notable successors—especially Cassiodorus and Isidore—the grouping of subjects which formed a liberal education was transmitted to the Middle Ages. In time it became customary to distinguish the first three from the later four, and to regard the former as a preparation for the latter. The first group, called the *trivium*, was equivalent to the more elementary curriculum taught to all who came to school, while the *quadrivium* comprised the more advanced subjects which would be attempted only by the more apt pupils. The most recent writer on the subject has shown good reasons for supposing that the terms, *trivium* and *quadrivium*, and the twofold division of the liberal arts which they express, are certainly not older than the seventh century and more probably were first formulated in the Carolingian age.² The two remaining authors who require

¹ PL. 17, col. 55. This interesting passage appears to have been generally overlooked: *Sapientes autem illos dixit qui mundanis rationibus eruditi, sapientes vocantur in saeculo; dum aut siderum speculatores sunt, aut mensuris aut numeris aut arti grammaticae student, rhetoricae aut musicae. His omnibus ostendit nihil haec prodesse nec vere sapientes esse nisi credant in Christum.*

² 'La distinzione in Trivio e Quadrivio uscì non improbabilmente dal fervore scolastico suscitato da Carlo Magno.' See P. Rajna, 'Le denominazioni Trivium e Quadrivium' in *Studi medievali*, nuova serie I (1928), pp. 4-36.

brief mention are Fulgentius and Macrobius. Next to nothing is known about the life of the former, more especially as the attempts of certain scholars to identify him with the theologian, Fulgentius of Ruspe, must be regarded as having failed. None of the four short works which have survived have any great intrinsic value. They are the *Mitologiae* in three books, the *Expositio sermonum antiquorum*, the *Expositio Virgilianae continentiae*, and the *De actatibus mundi et hominis*. All are distinguished by their fantastic vocabulary and tortured periods, and all make extensive use of allegory. We may here allude to the great popularity of at least two of these treatises in the eighth and ninth centuries.¹ Macrobius is an author of much higher rank. His chief work, entitled *Saturnalia*, is in dialogue form and divided into seven books; of these considerable portions are now lost. A large variety of subjects is discussed, antiquarian and religious topics, social customs, and literature, no less than four books (3 to 6 inclusive) being devoted to the poet Vergil. The value of the *Saturnalia* to the better scholars of the Middle Ages, who used it as the inferior ones did not, lay in the multiplicity of the topics discussed and of the information offered. The fact that most of what the books contained was derived by Macrobius from a comparatively small number of earlier writers gave them additional authority, and is also the main reason why they are still of some interest. Macrobius also wrote a commentary on a Ciceronian work, the *Dream of Scipio*, which was originally a digression in the sixth book of the treatise *De republica*, but early came into circulation as a separate essay. Macrobius's elucidations are chiefly interesting because he had studied the Neo-Platonist philosophy in some detail and reproduces some of its doctrines.

Africa, Gaul, and Spain with their Romanization took over the Roman practice of education. No town of any size was without its *grammatici*, and teachers of rhetoric were almost as ubiquitous. This did not mean that the tuition was everywhere equally good. Cities which were outstanding centres in other respects naturally tended to be best equipped educationally. Thus, in the fourth century, Augustine, although he began his schooling in his native Tagaste, was soon sent to Madaura, and finally to Carthage. Again,

¹ All four works have been edited by R. Helm (Teubner). On the great popularity of Fulgentius in the Carolingian age see M. L. W. Laistner in *Mélanges Hrouchevsky* (Ukrainian Academy of Sciences; Kiev, 1928), pp. 445 ff.

Ausonius bears testimony to the existence of schools at Autun, Lyons, Toulouse, Narbonne, Poitiers, and other towns in Gaul; but they were quite outstripped in importance as cultural and educational centres by Trèves and Bordeaux. The decline of Greek in that century and the next in the Western Empire was also very noticeable. Augustine was forced with many pains and penalties to learn the rudiments of that language at school, but he did not continue with this subject and so never mastered it. Jerome, educated mainly in Rome, did not acquire the second language until he went to the East. When a rescript addressed in 376 by Valens and Valentinian to the prefect of Gaul authorized the appointment of a Greek rhetorician in Trèves, with the proviso, 'if any person worthy (of the post) can be found', it implied a difficulty in finding a suitable man, and indirectly shows us that the supply must have been small.¹ Several authors of the period, notably Ausonius, allude, it is true, not infrequently to Greek as a school subject and to teachers of it. Some of these had gone far afield in the course of their careers. For example, Minervius and Arborius, besides scholastic experience in Rome and in Spain respectively, had both practised their profession in Constantinople. But it must be remembered that at Bordeaux, and also in the chief cities of the old province of Gallia Narbonensis, whose prosperity depended largely on maritime trade, not a little of which was with the Greek-speaking half of the Empire, the language survived longest, in some cases well into the sixth century. It was, however, not fostered in the monasteries of Gaul, since even the more scholarly inmates were satisfied if they could interpret such nouns, proper names, and short phrases as occurred in the Bible or in the liturgy. And, to refer once more to Ausonius, although he appears to have been a good Greek scholar himself, his habit of introducing Greek tags into his poems, pedantic in itself, becomes ludicrous in those where he appends a Latin version for the benefit of his readers.² At any rate, he does not expect the generality of his readers to understand his incursions into the tongue of Homer and Menander.

We may conclude with the observation that the only two pagan Latin poets of the later Empire who wrote some verse of enduring merit, namely Ausonius and Claudian, appear

¹ *Codex Theodosianus* (edd. Mommsen and Krüger), XIII, 3, 11.

² See, for instance, the ten poems which make up the thirteenth book of his verse, entitled *Ludus*.

to have enjoyed little vogue in the earlier part of the Middle Ages.

(b) THE CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TO PAGAN LEARNING

The attitude of Christian thinkers to pagan education, which brought in its train the problem how best to instruct the children of Christians, is a question of some complexity. The development of Latin Christian writings was slow, for until the beginning of the third century the literature of the Faithful was in Greek. Thus it is hardly surprising that nothing is heard at this time, or indeed much later, of separate Christian schools. Clearly provision must have been made from early times for religious instruction to converts and catechumens. Eusebius expressly refers to a catechumen school in Alexandria in the second century.¹ But such training was a matter quite distinct from elementary or higher education. When Christianity early in the fourth century became a 'lawful religion', there would indeed have been no danger or illegality in the establishment of specifically Christian schools, but there were nevertheless very real practical difficulties to overcome, especially in the western half of the Empire. Though the Latin Church could by then boast of Tertullian, Cyprian, Victorinus of Pettau, Arnobius, and Lactantius, their writings were not suitable as school-books. There were no treatises on grammar, rhetoric, or any of the liberal arts save those by pagan authors; and, although there was no danger to orthodoxy in declensions, conjugations, and, in short, in the rules of idiomatic language and composition, the illustrations from literature which were sown broadcast through the more popular text-books of grammar and rhetoric were from infidel prose writers and poets. At every turn the Christian boy or youth was familiarized with pagan mythology and with aspects of pagan literature and thought of which the leaders of the Church were bound to disapprove. There thus existed a dilemma from which there was no escape for those who were unwilling to seek a compromise.

The extreme attitude in the earlier period is well exemplified by the case of Tertullian who fiercely attacked pagan letters and damned dialectic for the heresies to which it had given rise. He would have liked, too, to forbid Christians to teach the literature of the heathen; yet he was bound to advise sending children to school. This could only mean handing

¹ *Hist. Eccles.*, V, 10.

them over to the *litterator* and the *grammaticus*, in other words, giving them the ordinary Roman education of the day. How far the safeguard which he advocates, that the young should first have received some religious instruction at home, was effective, it would be rash to surmise. The Greek Fathers of the third and fourth centuries were more lenient. Both Origen and Clement of Alexandria are outspoken in their championship of pagan letters and the liberal arts, whose *propaedeutic* value they rated highly.¹ The great trio, John Chrysostom, the pupil of Libanius, Basil the Great, and Gregory of Nazianzus, both taught in the sophists' lecture-halls at Constantinople and Athens, followed a *via media* in sanctioning the use of contemporary higher education as a preparation for the Christian teacher and theologian. Indeed, Basil is the author of a short address to young men, in which he expounds to them the advantages to be derived from the perusal of pagan literature.²

In the West it was only with the spread of monasticism that a more general movement towards substituting for the traditional a specifically Christian education began. The primary aim of monastic schools was to train those who chose to become monks, and amongst these would be the oblate children dedicated at an early age by their parents to a religious life. It must not, however, be forgotten that many of the leaders of the Church were, at least in part, products of monastic centres. Especially in Gaul during the fifth and early sixth centuries we find a whole series of eminent churchmen—Cassian, Hilary of Arles, Faustus of Riez, Lupus of Troyes, Eucherius, Caesarius—who had passed some of their early years in St. Victor at Marseilles or at Lérins. And amongst the children educated in the monasteries there were always some who were destined for secular life. In the practice followed by many bishops of gathering round them young students to be trained for orders may be found the germ from which grew the cathedral schools of later date.³ But it is clear, both from their own writings and from what their biographers relate of them, that the distinguished bishops just named had also benefited by the study of pagan rhetoric. Their attitude subsequently was far from uniform, and one

¹ Clement, *Stromat.*, 5, 28, actually describes Hellenic culture as a *προπαιδευσις* for those who seek to attain to Christian belief by way of proof.

² Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 31, coll. 564 ff.

³ Cf. below, p. 96.

may note the extreme of tolerance and even approval of the liberal arts on the one hand and uncompromising condemnation on the other, as well as a position intermediate between the two. We shall have occasion to note this contrast more in detail in sixth-century Gaul and Italy.

Jerome, and especially Augustine, had pondered more deeply on educational theory and practice, and on the place of non-Christian literature in a scheme of Christian education. Both men had enjoyed the best secular education available in their day, the one at Rome, the other at Madaura and in Carthage, whose schools were reputed amongst the best in the Empire. Both again were experienced teachers. For Jerome during his second stay in Rome (382-385) was the admired tutor of a number of women in high station, who at his behest devoted themselves to a life of virginity and under his guidance studied the Scriptures and the languages in which they were written. In his monastery at Bethlehem, from 386 to his death in 419, in addition to his unceasing labours as a commentator, translator, and theological controversialist, he gave instruction to the inmates of the monastery in both religious and secular subjects. Much can be gleaned from his abundant correspondence about his methods as a teacher and expositor, and much from his writings as a whole concerning his attitude to pagan authors. After he had left the West for good he still corresponded with his female disciples on learned subjects. And, if these were more commonly questions of biblical exegesis, they were not exclusively so. In one and the same letter he discusses the writings of Origen and of Varro, the two most learned men produced respectively by the Christian East and Pagan Rome. Twice, in a letter to Laeta (403) and again in one to Gaudentius (413), he describes with much elaboration the best method of educating Christian virgins, starting with the elementary instruction of early childhood.¹ Besides their historic importance, since they were long used in some nunneries during the Middle Ages as a guide in the training of novices, these epistles contain educational principles and betray an understanding of child psychology which seem to stamp Jerome a man far in advance of his age. Jerome's predilection in youth for Cicero, Vergil, and other Roman

¹ *Epist.* 107 and 128. The best edition of the letters is in CSEL 54-6 by J. Hilberg. An English translation of the more important letters by W. H. Fremantle will be found in the *Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series II, vol. VI (New York, 1893).

authors, and his famous dream when he first entered on a life of extreme asceticism, are well known. What is sometimes forgotten is that his renunciation of the classics was never complete and that, as he grew older, his attitude again became more tolerant. Citations from pagan authors are found in his letters at all periods of his life. Writing in 397 to the Roman *rhetor*, Magnus, he defends the practice of quoting from non-Christian writers and points out that with few exceptions—Epicurus is one—Christians can learn something from their perusal.¹ The beautiful letter of condolence addressed to Heliodorus in the previous year contains noteworthy allusions to Jerome's earlier studies in secular literature, while that written to Domnio is full of biting contempt for an illiterate monk who had found fault with Jerome's writings.² Even in those of his biblical commentaries which he composed in old age quotations from Vergil, Plautus, and Horace are by no means rare. In general we may stress, first, that Jerome himself was so steeped in the classics that citing them became second nature to him, while his own fluent style plainly demonstrates his familiarity with them. Secondly, his was essentially a scholar's nature, so that, even in those years when his views were most austere, his strictures were qualified, not absolute. At the worst a study of pagan authors and the pagan education were a means to an end.

[Paul] had read in Deuteronomy the command given by the voice of the Lord that when a captive woman had had her head shaved, her eyebrows and all her hair cut off, and her nails pared, she might then be taken to wife. Is it surprising that I too, admiring the fairness of her form and the grace of her eloquence, desire to make that secular wisdom, which is my captive and my hand-maid, a matron of the true Israel? Or that shaving off and cutting away all in her that is dead, whether this be idolatry, pleasure, error, or lust, I take her to myself clean and pure and beget by her servants for the Lord of Sabaoth? ³

But during the greater part of Jerome's life the humanist maintained a not unequal contest with the theologian.⁴

Like Jerome, Augustine had passed, and with distinction, through the schools of the *grammaticus* and the *rhetor*; unlike

¹ *Epist.* 70.

² *Epist.* 60 and 50.

³ *Epist.* 70.

⁴ When F. Cavallera on page 165 of his brilliant biography (*Saint Jérôme : sa vie et son œuvre*, Part I, vols. 1 and 2. *Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense*, fasc. 1 and 2 [Paris, 1923]) speaks of Jerome's double ideal, the monastic life and the study of Scripture, he hardly allows sufficiently for Jerome's life-long interest in wider humanistic studies.

his older contemporary, he was himself for a decade a teacher of rhetoric in Africa, in Rome, and finally in Milan. From several of his works it is possible to ascertain with some distinctness his earlier and his later views on the education of a Christian. He himself has recorded the profound impression made upon his youthful mind—he was nineteen years old at the time—by the study of Cicero's *Hortensius*. The purpose of this treatise, which has not survived, was to serve as an introduction to the study of philosophy (and, more particularly, to Cicero's own works in this field), and at the same time to combat prevailing misconceptions about the value of philosophical speculations. The effect of its perusal on the young Augustine was far-reaching. It was an antidote to the one-sided rhetorical training which had hitherto fallen to his lot. It started that deep admiration for Cicero which remained with him to the end of his life. It gave a new direction to his intellectual activity by leading him to philosophical, and, to some extent, to scientific studies. And the steadily deepening understanding which came to him from constant application to these subjects ultimately caused him to reject the Manichaean heresy.¹ The treatise, *De ordine*, written in 386 at Cassiciacum near Milan, a retreat to which he had withdrawn with a few friends after his conversion to the orthodox Faith, is a dialogue having as its theme the order existing in the Universe, and the position and significance of evil therein. The existence of order and method throughout the Universe is incidentally illustrated from divers human examples, amongst others from the liberal arts. As we should expect from a Ciceronian and an ex-teacher, his attitude is liberal and even enthusiastic.

Seeing that all those liberal arts [he observes], are learnt partly for the conduct of life, partly for the understanding and contemplation of the Universe, the attainment of their (proper) use is extremely difficult save for one who, while being endowed with the best natural gifts, has from earliest youth devoted himself to them with the greatest application and unswerving assiduity.²

In 387, when his ideas on education were still the same, he conceived the plan and began the execution of an encyclopedia of the liberal arts (*disciplinarum libri*). But only a small portion of the whole was ever completed, since, after his return

¹ Cf. F. K. Eggersdorfer, *Der heilige Augustinus als Pädagoge* (Freiburg i.B., 1907), p. 12, and Bardenhewer, IV, pp. 439-40.

² *De ordine*, II, 44 (ed. P. Knöll in CSEL. 36).

to Africa in the same year, more vital matters engaged his attention. When he again turned his mind to educational questions, both his point of view and his purpose had deepened. The book, *De catechizandis rudibus* (c. 400), although it deals with a specialized type of instruction, the preparation of catechumens, contains profound reflections of a more general kind on education. To deal with each pupil individually, since neither the temperament nor the mental capacity of any two persons are precisely alike, in actual teaching to limit the subject and to teach a little thoroughly, and so to order the material handled that, even while some parts are dealt with fully, others more cursorily, the whole forms a unity in which the leading principles are never lost to view—these are counsels of perfection to which modern educators and teachers pay repeated lip-service (some would call them trite maxims), yet none but a few have ever attained in practice.

But Augustine's profoundest contribution to educational theory which, however different its approach and content, can rank with the best that Plato, Isocrates, and Cicero had uttered on the subject, is the long treatise, *De doctrina Christiana*. It was composed at different times, for Books I, II, and part of III belong to the year 397, whereas the remainder of III and the whole of IV were not completed until 426. Although the earlier portions were by that time already known, the author then brought out a revised redaction of the entire work, and it is this that has survived in the extant manuscripts. His two main theses are how best to interpret Holy Writ (Hermeneutics) and how to impart it to Christian men (Homiletics). But in the end Augustine went far beyond this, so that there was incorporated in the complete treatise an elaborate treatment of the training of the Christian priest and preacher. Our concern, however, is only with Augustine's attitude to pagan letters. It had been greatly modified since the days of Cassiciacum. In the *Retractationes*, written in 427, three years before his death, he subjects his early writings to severe criticism. He refers thus to the *De ordine* :

At the same time, in fact amongst the books written about the Academics, I also wrote two books, *De ordine*, in which an important question is discussed, namely whether the order of divine Providence embraces all good and evil. Yet, when I saw that this topic which is difficult to grasp could only be transmitted very inadequately by disputation to the understanding of my friends, I preferred to speak about the order of studying, seeing

that it is possible to advance from corporeal to incorporeal things. Now in these books I disapprove both of my frequent use of the word 'fortune' and of my omission of the word 'body' when I refer to bodily senses; further (I disapprove) of the emphasis that I laid on the liberal arts, of which many saints are greatly ignorant, whilst some who are familiar with them are not saints; and of my mentioning the Muses as goddesses of a kind, even though it was in jest; and of having called wonder (*admirationem*) a fault, and of asserting that philosophers who were not endowed with true piety shone with the light of virtue.¹

There are many passages in the *De doctrina Christiana* which show him striving for some mean between practical necessity and orthodoxy. We wonder whether, if he had completed his encyclopedia of the liberal arts, he could have extracted himself from an impossible dilemma. One might also speculate whether such a work would have been able to displace the older pagan treatises in the monasteries and Christian schools of the earlier Middle Ages. In Books II and III he is fain to admit the need of the liberal arts but, like other Christian thinkers before him, he urges that their study should cease as early as possible. In Book IV, written a year before the *Retractationes*, he strives to prove that there is no necessity for profane literature in training the Christian preacher or orator, since the Scriptures provide all necessary material for illustration. Several observations may here be made. Augustine admits that the Christian preacher to maintain his thesis must use rhetoric; yet he would restrict its study to the adolescent years, and he propounds views which could never hold good save in special cases. 'Men of quick intellect', he remarks, 'and glowing temperament find it easier to become eloquent by reading and listening to eloquent speakers than by following rules for eloquence.'² Again, he cites from St. Paul, Ambrose, and Cyprian to illustrate the oratorical mastery attained by great Christian teachers. Yet Jerome had justified his own use of pagan citations by instancing the similar practice of St. Paul.³ Ambrose, intended at first for a civil career, had passed through the usual curriculum in pagan schools; while Cyprian, like Augustine himself, had in his early manhood taught rhetoric. Finally, what did Augustine himself do in writing Book IV of the *De doctrina Christiana*? He adapted Cicero's *Orator* to Christian needs; for, though the illustrations are taken

¹ *Retract.* (CSEL 36), I, 3.

² *De doctr. Christ.*, IV, 3.

³ *Epist.* 70; cf. above, p. 29.

from Christian writers, the framework of the whole is closely modelled on Cicero's treatise. Thus the love and admiration for Rome's greatest orator was never quenched in Augustine's heart. And the noble and impressive chapters which conclude the *De doctrina Christiana* are the utterance not of a narrow doctrinaire but of a man who recognizes and welcomes truth wheresoever he may find it.¹

¹ *De doct. Christ.*, IV, 28 and 29.

CHAPTER III

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE DURING THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES

WE have seen that secular Latin literature was at a very low ebb in the fourth and fifth centuries. What was produced was, with scarcely an exception, lacking in originality. Tired minds were content to copy or abbreviate the works of a mentally more vigorous age. Indeed we may agree with the caustic verdict passed by a recent critic on pagan Latin literature after Fronto. 'Quand', he remarks, 'ils ne sont plus soutenus par les faits qu'ils racontent, ils n'ont rien ou presque rien à dire.'¹ It was far different with the Christian writers. Indebted only for their technique to pagan teaching, they were filled with new ideals that fructified their spoken and written words. A Church recently freed from bondage, but at first still weaker numerically than its opponents, was fortunate in having amongst her spokesmen for decades to come a succession of the most original and able minds; unfortunate, however, in seeing her unity constantly threatened and sometimes broken by the embittered dissensions of her members. The writings of the Christians during those two centuries were almost wholly in the service of religion. Paganism and heresy were the two enemies against which orthodoxy's champions were pitted. But there was this difference: whereas the adherents of the older religions and the devotees of philosophy were fighting a losing battle from the first, there were amongst the Christian heresiarchs men as able as amongst the orthodox, which led them more than once to a temporary triumph over their adversaries. The nobility of Julian's life and character must not blind us to the fact that towards the end of his life he rivalled his extremest opponents in fanaticism, and that his writings produced no permanent effect. But Arius or Donatus and their followers, Pelagius, or Nestorius caused schisms in the Church which endured for many years, or, as in the last-

¹ P. de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne* (ed. 2, 1924), p. 13.

named instance, permanently. The bulk of the prose literature can be broadly classified under one of four headings—dogmatic treatises including most of the controversial literature, exegetical and hermeneutical writings, homiletics and pastoral dissertations, and apologetics. Besides these there are some historical works and some important collections of letters. The division can, however, not be kept too rigidly, since a particular book may have a composite character. Augustine's greatest work is the supreme example of Christian apologetics; it is also not a little polemic in character. Or again, some of the exegetical works of Jerome contain controversial matter, because Christian scholars were sharply divided on the question of Biblical interpretation.

The elucidation of dogma might be regarded *per se* as a necessary task undertaken by the leaders of the Church to instruct the Faithful. Actually the abundant dogmatic literature produced both in the East and in the West was to a great extent the outcome of doctrinal disputes between prominent Churchmen themselves, which took on a more serious complexion when the rank and file of Christian men took sides with either party. Of the various heresies prevalent in the fourth and fifth centuries which called forth a great mass of writings, partly aimed at defining dogma, partly at confounding the opponents, some affected the eastern and western halves of the Empire alike, some were confined to one or the other, or even to a single country only. We are here concerned solely with those heresies which won a firm hold in the West and thereby led to a Latin Christian literature on the subject. The Trinitarian controversy deserves first place. The orthodox definition of the three Persons had been formulated in 325 at the Council of Nicaea. Its purpose was to crush once and for always the false teaching of Arius, who had defined the Second Person of the Trinity as having been created by the Father and therefore not of the same nature with Him. Arianism, however, had a long life. It gained strength in the East from the fact that Constantine's successor, Constantius, accepted its teaching; while for the future it was assured a long life, particularly in the West, because the Germanic neighbours of the Empire, when they abandoned heathendom, were converted to the Arian form of Christianity. On the other hand, the Christological controversies concerning the single or double nature of Christ, which from the end of the fourth century agitated clergy and laity alike in the East, had only slight repercussions in

the West, where they produced no more than an isolated treatise here and there. Of all the defenders of orthodoxy against Arianism in the West the most remarkable was Hilary (c. 315–367). He had already been bishop of Poitiers for some years, when the condemnation of Athanasius and his defence of the Nicene confession by the synod of Milan in 355 was followed by the attempt of the metropolitan bishop of Arles, Saturninus, and of others, to establish the Arian creed in Gaul. Hilary led the opposition with such energy and effect that he was banished by the emperor in 356 and was not allowed to return home till 361. These six years were exceedingly valuable to his development, since he became acquainted with many leading Churchmen and theologians as well as with Greek theological literature, and thus obtained a deeper insight into the doctrinal question that was disturbing all Christendom to its depths. On his return to Gaul he was received with widespread acclamation and laboured so successfully, until his comparatively early death, to root out Arianism there that half a century later a chronicler could write: 'it is a fact universally agreed that thanks to the good work of Hilary alone our country of Gaul was freed from the defilement of heresy.'¹ Hilary's masterpiece, which was the direct outcome of the dogmatic questions to solve which he devoted his life, was the treatise in twelve books, *De Trinitate*.² Nearly half of it (Books 4 to 7 and 9) is controversial in the sense that this part aims specifically at countering and destroying the arguments of the Arian opponents. The rest is devoted to a constructive justification of orthodox belief. Thus he treats of the mystery of the divine birth of the Son (Book 2); he sets out to show that the divinity of the Son does not contradict the unity of the Godhead (Book 8); and he strives to bring certain passages in the New Testament, which seem to imply the subordination of the Second to the First Person of the Trinity, into harmony with the belief in the divinity of Christ (Books 10 and 11). A kind of appendix to this work was an open letter to the bishops of Gaul, Britain, and the Rhine provinces, entitled *De synodis seu de fide Orientalium*, in which Hilary explains for the benefit of his readers the general course of the Trinitarian disputes in the East, giving translations of half a dozen confessions promulgated between 341 and 358. The writings of the Arians in defence of their position have mostly perished,

¹ Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.*, 2, 45, 7.

² PL., 10, coll. 25–472.

and doubtless did so at an early date, owing to the ultimate triumph of orthodoxy. Amongst those who, besides Hilary, published attacks against them or defences of the Catholic claims we may mention the extremist Lucifer of Calaris, Ambrose in his treatise, *De fide*, written at the invitation of and dedicated to Gratian, Marius Victorinus who composed a number of anti-Arian or Trinitarian tracts, only three of which have survived, and Augustine. He, in addition to penning two shorter controversial pamphlets against the Arians, was engaged off and on for many years on his *De Trinitate*.¹ This long work, divided into fifteen books, was the profoundest study yet made in the West of the central mystery of the Christian faith, and was at once accepted as authoritative. The bulk of Augustine's numerous controversial writings were evoked by the Donatist schism, by the Manichaean religion which in the western half of the Empire gained some foothold in Africa alone, and by Pelagianism.

If the immediate cause of the formation of the Donatist Church in North Africa was the result of a bitter dispute concerning Church organization, it must be remembered that personal issues and doctrinal questions complicated the controversy and made possible the permanent separation of the Donatists from the orthodox Church. In 307 the see of Carthage, which had been vacant for nearly a year, was filled by the appointment of the first deacon, Caecilianus. The bishop, Felix of Aptunga, who consecrated him was, however, believed by many to have betrayed his faith and the Church by handing over Christian writings and Church property to the imperial authorities during the recent Diocletianic persecution. This circumstance was utilized by the opponents of Caecilianus, and a synod of seventy bishops found Felix unworthy of the episcopal office, at the same time declaring his consecration of Caecilianus null and void. They then proceeded to elect a certain Majorinus as bishop of Carthage. Caecilianus had, however, many supporters who were not prepared to see him thus cavalierly set aside. The decision of a Roman synod in his favour in 313, and the subsequent efforts of Constantine in the same sense, only intensified the bitterness. Africa was distracted by civil war in which the whole population took sides for one or other of the episcopal claimants. All the horrors of religious persecution were re-enacted amongst two groups of citizens who had but lately

¹ PL. 42, coll. 819-1098.

suffered in common at the hands of a pagan emperor. The further history of the Donatist sect, which derived its name from the successor of Majorinus, Donatus, lies outside our subject, but the abundant literature that was evoked by the dispute merits a brief notice. As usual, it is mainly the orthodox writings which have survived, while those of the Donatists have mostly perished.

Among the earlier Latin Fathers none was more universally revered, above all in his native Africa, than the martyred Cyprian (c. 200-258). The extreme rigour of his orthodoxy, however, had shortly before his death brought him into conflict with the bishop of Rome. It is generally held that the death of both men and the diversion caused by the Valerian persecution, whose victim Cyprian had become, averted a schism in the African Church at that time. The question at issue between the Pope and the bishop was the necessity of second baptism. Cyprian, true to his rigid interpretation of what was meant by the Church universal, required all persons, who had been baptized as members of a Christian sect and subsequently returned to the orthodox communion, to undergo the rite of baptism a second time. His view, it may be added, was at one with that of his older fellow-countryman, Tertullian. Pope Stephen, following the traditional and more liberal view, had ruled that any baptism performed in the name of the three Persons of the Trinity was valid, and rebaptism neither necessary nor permissible. This anabaptist doctrine was taken over by the Donatists and applied by them to all outside their communion. Only the pure could be members of the true Church of Christ; they only could bestow the sacrament of baptism on the impure. And who was more unclean than the betrayers (*traditores*), as the Donatists charitably dubbed the adherents of the orthodox Church in Africa? The same principle was applied to other sacraments, which were only efficacious if he who administered them was a member of the true (*i.e.* the Donatist) Church and morally pure. Thus questions of doctrine were introduced into a controversy which began over a matter of Church organization that, in itself, was called forth by personal antipathies and rivalries. Of those who waged war with the pen rather than with the sword and the stave, it will suffice to name two Donatists and two of their opponents. The writings of Parmenianus, the successor of Donatus, are lost, but they can be largely reconstructed from the reply of the orthodox Optatus, bishop of Mileve in Numidia. The latter's

treatise in ~~six~~ books deals with historical material in so far as it traces the history of the Donatist schism (Book 1), defends the Catholic party from the charge of being responsible for the measures taken against the Donatists by the imperial authorities (Book 3), and enumerates the destruction of Catholic property wrought by their adversaries (Book 6). The remaining three books are a reply to the various accusations and claims of the Donatists, the whole of Book 5 being devoted to the baptismal question and to the rebuttal of the Donatist interpretation of sacramental acts and their operation.¹ The contemporary of these two men, Tyconius, though a Donatist, was expelled from their communion by Parmenianus, because he, basing his opposition on a detailed interpretation of the Scriptures, refused to approve the intolerant claims of his co-religionists to be the only true Church. It is, however, on his work in hermeneutics that Tyconius's reputation subsequently rested. This will be more fully explained below. Augustine between 393 and 420 published no less than twelve different treatises against the Donatists. Again the works of his later opponents are lost, but they can to some extent be reconstructed from his quotations. Nothing proves more clearly how deep-seated and incurable the rupture in his day was than the amount of time and labour that the bishop of Hippo found it needful to expend on his anti-Donatist essays. As far as the root problems are concerned, he envisaged them as two, when, in the most brilliant of these tractates, he addressed his opponents with the words: "we charge you with two errors; first, that you are wrong on the question of baptism, and, second, that you set yourselves apart from those who hold the true view of this matter."²

Manichaeism need not detain us long. Of some influence for a time in North Africa, it otherwise was of little moment in the Western Empire.³ The religion founded by the Persian Manes was essentially an attempt to combine the dualism of the Persian religion and its two coeternal powers of Light or Good (Ahura Mazda) and Darkness or Evil (Ahriman) with certain parts of the Christian teaching. The Manichaeans, however, rejected the Old Testament as irreconcilable with the New, and went so far as to regard the former as the work

¹ CSEL., 26 (ed. C. Ziwsa).

² *Contra Cresconium grammaticum* (CSEL., 52), 3, 3.

³ The Priscillianist heresy which was localized in Spain and S. Gaul during the fourth century had some features in common with Manichaeism.

of the power of Darkness. If it be added that to them Jesus during His life on earth was a mere phantasm, while Manes was the Messiah foretold by Him, it will be seen that the Manichæan scarcely deserves the name of a Christian sect at all. Its adherents in North Africa during the fourth century were many, and the young Augustine, to the distress of his mother, Monnica, became one of them. His disappointment at meeting and hearing the much-lauded Manichæan teacher, Faustus, coming, as it did, at the end of several years of philosophical and scientific studies, which we may suppose had already undermined his belief in the doctrines he had so lightly embraced, led him in 383 to sever his connexion with the sect. Between 389 and 405 he published thirteen anti-Manichæan tracts. The most considerable in scope and bulk was that against Faustus.¹ Its arrangement is such that the arguments of Faustus alternate with the refutations of Augustine; its main thesis is the defence of the Old Testament.

Of all the lapses from orthodoxy that which from the fourth to the sixth century produced the greatest stir in the West was undoubtedly the heretical teaching of Pelagius. He was probably a native of Ireland,² who appeared in Rome at the end of the fourth century. As one of the refugees who fled in 410 at the time of Alaric's march on the capital he first visited North Africa and then Palestine. By this time he had already formulated the doctrine named after him. Although he was able to exculpate himself at two Palestinian synods held in 415, his teaching was condemned in Africa, and, in 417, he and his disciple, Caelestius, were excommunicated by Innocent I. Pope Zosimus was inclined to be more lenient, but ultimately confirmed his predecessor's decision after the temporal power had issued a rescript expelling Pelagius from Rome. Pelagius himself is heard of no more after this date; but his views had brought him not a few supporters, among whom the chief was Julian, up to then bishop of Aeclanum. At the Council of Ephesus in 431 the condemnation of Pelagianism was formally pronounced. Nevertheless, a modified form of it, commonly called Semipelagianism, continued for some time to have adherents in the West. The essential feature of Pelagius's teaching was his rejection of the doctrines of Predestination and Original Sin. He denied that the sin of Adam and Eve

¹ CSEL., 25.

² This is Jerome's statement. Others, including Augustine, speak of Pelagius as a Briton.

was transmitted to all their posterity, and claimed for each human being an unqualified freedom of the will which enabled him to choose between good and evil. It followed that a completely sinless life was possible without the operation of Divine Grace. It can occasion no surprise that these arguments encountered the strongest possible opposition from the orthodox. Moreover, it is impossible to doubt that Pelagianism in its extreme form was rather short-lived, because it at once met with severe condemnation from Jerome and from Augustine. The former, who was an old man at the time, would hardly have entered the lists, had not Pelagius in the course of his travels visited Palestine. Then Jerome, when the poisonous teaching was brought, as it were, to his own door, launched a treatise in three books, *Dialogi contra Pelagianos*, in which he showed all his old powers as a controversialist and had no difficulty in rebutting the chief tenets of the heresiarch. The anti-Pelagian writings of Augustine, on the other hand, were not merely skilful examples of dialectic. The doctrines of Predestination and of Divine Grace were two fundamental concepts of Augustinian theology, so that the fifteen treatises against Pelagianism, which he composed between 415 and 430, are not merely a refutation of a pestilent heresy, but are constructive, inasmuch as they were used by him to elaborate first principles on which his theologico-philosophic system was based. There was also a more personal reason for Augustine's fulminations against the Pelagianism. His *Confessions* record with a unique self-revelation his own religious experience. He had relapsed many times from the true path, and on each occasion had only found it again not by his own free will, but by the Grace of God causing his will to choose aright. But, although Augustine killed Pelagianism, he was in a sense responsible for Semipelagianism. By enunciating his views on Predestination and Free Will with the complete rigour of a relentless logic, he met with considerable opposition. To many the belief that a majority of mankind were marked out for eternal damnation, while only a minority would attain to salvation, especially also the inclusion of young children who had died before baptism amongst the damned, must have been, at least secretly, repugnant. Even amongst theologians, whose written utterances were more cautious, there were those who sought to vindicate to some extent the freedom of the will. These Semipelagians were particularly active in Gaul. Thus John Cassian (c. 360-435) wrote :

But that it may be still clearer that, through the excellence of nature which is granted by the goodness of the Creator, sometimes the first beginnings of a good will arise, which however cannot attain to the complete performance of what is good unless it is guided by the Lord, the Apostle bears witness and says (Rom. vii. 18): 'For to will is present with me, but to perform what is good I find not.'¹

Other dissenters from this part of Augustinian teaching were Vincent of Lérins (early fifth century) and Faustus of Riez, who died at an advanced age some time after 485. Vincent in his much admired *Commonitorium* elaborated the doctrine of the Church's authority in defining dogma, and stressed the importance of tradition. He denied that the Bible was the sole criterion for Christian belief, since it could and had been interpreted in different ways. The real criterion, he argued, is the teaching of the Church which embodies universally accepted beliefs and which in disputed matters appeals to tradition (*antiquitas*), or, where that is not enough, has recourse to the opinion of a majority of bishops and Christian teachers or to an oecumenical council. To Vincent the views of Augustine relative to Predestination and Free Will were heretical, or, more precisely, the opinions of an individual who in that instance was at variance with the teaching of the Church. Even in Gaul, however, Augustine had staunch adherents like Prosper of Aquitaine (c. 390-463) and his slightly older contemporary, Marius Mercator.² His authority was, of course, greatest in Africa. Among many who continued to propagate his views on Predestination the most eminent was Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe (c. 467-532). Enough has, however, been said to show that Pelagius started doctrinal questions which engaged many of the best minds in the Church and produced an extensive literature, partly dogmatic, partly polemical.

From the beginning of the third to the end of the fifth century a great mass of expository and hortatory writings saw the light. It will be enough to explain briefly the salient characteristics of these works and to refer specifically only to those which exerted a marked influence and thus have a peculiar importance for the student of mediaeval thought. In the matter of expounding the Scriptures the Latin West once more stood to the Greek East in the relation of pupil to master. Among the Greek Fathers who turned their

¹ Cassian, *Collationes*, 13, 9, translated by C. S. Gibson in *Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, second series, vol. XI.

attention to exegesis Origen towers head and shoulders over all others. It is no exaggeration to say that his influence was universal, since even those who opposed his methods and his conclusions were in the process compelled to deepen their own researches and to seek a solution for problems which, but for him, they might never have envisaged. His learning and his literary output were immense. His work as a textual critic was of inestimable value, his outstanding achievement in this field being the so-called *Hexapla*, an edition of the Old Testament in which the Hebrew Text in Hebrew characters, the same in Greek characters, the Septuagint, and three other Greek translations (Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion) were arranged in six parallel columns. In the fifth column, which contained the Septuagint, divergences of that translation from the original text were carefully obelized. At the same time *lacunae* in the Septuagint were emended with the help of the other Greek versions. This vast work, which, owing to its huge bulk, can never have been duplicated as a whole, was preserved in the library at Caesarea, where more than a century later it was consulted by Jerome.

Origen's method of interpreting the Bible, followed both in his homilies and in his commentaries, was the allegorical. Although this type of hermeneutics was much older—he himself was acquainted with and indebted to the writings of Philo the Jew—Origen must be regarded as the father of allegorical interpretation in the Christian Church. To him the literal or historical sense of a passage was of so little importance that he sometimes disregarded it altogether. In setting forth his method he postulates a threefold sense of Scripture, which he calls the somatic, the psychic, and the pneumatic. This division is analogous to the three constituents of man, body, soul, and spirit. In practice he, however, rarely succeeds in forcing a given passage to bear all three meanings; in general he is content with a twofold mystical or allegorical interpretation, the one having reference to Christian life on earth, the other to the life hereafter. By later expositors, especially among the Latin writers, various changes or modifications in the manner of interpreting Holy Writ other than literally were introduced.¹ But it is from

¹ For helpful discussion of the methods of Scriptural interpretation, with special reference to mediaeval practice in the West the reader may consult H. Caplan in *Speculum*, 4 (1929), pp. 282–90, who also gives ample bibliographical information.

Origen that the method of allegorizing ultimately derives. In the East the strongest opposition came from the Antiochene school of commentators who insisted primarily on the literal or historic sense and assigned to allegory a secondary place. But in the West this school of thought exerted little influence. In the earlier Middle Ages the authority of Jerome, and still more of Gregory the Great, was virtually unchallenged.

Hilary of Poitiers in his commentaries on St. Matthew and on the Psalms, and Ambrose in his lengthy exposition of the opening chapters of *Genesis* (*Hexaemeron*) and of St. Luke, as well as in a number of lesser tractates, were the chief Latin precursors of Jerome in the task of expounding portions of the Bible. Hilary tries to keep the balance between literal interpretation and allegory; Ambrose, though he also strives after mystic or esoteric meanings in the words of Scripture, is most concerned with moralizing them. Both Ambrosian commentaries enjoyed considerable popularity in later ages, but it is in the realm of homiletics and as a preacher that he shone especially. This is apparent also in his commentaries; for these, in fact, grew out of homilies which he had delivered on various occasions.

As a work of Biblical scholarship the commentary on the thirteen Epistles of St. Paul—the Epistle to the Hebrews is not included—wrongly included amongst Ambrose's works and generally referred to as *Ambrosiaster*, stands much higher. Although its authorship is uncertain—and various conjectures have been hazarded—its date can be fixed within narrow limits. Internal evidence shows that it was composed between 366 and 384. It is remarkable because *Ambrosiaster*, like Jerome and Jerome alone, among Latin writers, has an interest in and an understanding for textual criticism.¹ He tries, and with success, to explain the meaning of the Apostle's words in straightforward language and without recourse to mystical interpretation. He is thoroughly familiar with all parts of the Bible, alludes frequently to heretical beliefs current in his own day, and shows some knowledge of pagan religions and institutions.² In addition, he betrays not a little wit, and a distinctly satirical vein manifests itself at times in his comments. A single instance will suffice to

¹ Cf., for example, PL., 17, col. 96B; 159A; 293C.

² For instance, he is aware (*loc. cit.*, 137B-C) that Pharaoh is not a name but a royal title, and compares it to Augustus, the title assumed by the Roman emperors.

illustrate this unusual characteristic. In commenting on the words of St. Paul (1 Cor. xiv. 14), 'for if I pray in an (unknown) tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful', he observes:

it is obvious that our mind is in ignorance, if it should speak in a tongue which it does not know. It is like Latin (speaking) men who make a practice of chanting in Greek; they are charmed by the sound of the words, but they do not know what they are saying.¹

Incidentally this observation is a striking piece of evidence for the decline of Greek in the West in Ambrosiaster's day.

A singularly interesting, though isolated figure, contemporary with Jerome and Ambrosiaster, is Tyconius. Apart from his Donatist writings, he was the author of two works which, with certain reservations, won the approval even of his orthodox opponents, notably Augustine. The first is entitled *Liber Regularum*.² It lays down seven rules for discovering the meaning of Scripture, each being elucidated in detail with the help of ample illustrations. In general Tyconius is concerned with two senses of Holy Writ, the historical and the typical. By the latter he meant the reference of Scriptural passages to the Church. Augustine, who admired Tyconius greatly, while he regretted and warned against his Donatist views, ensured a wider publicity for this book by including the essential parts of its teaching in the third book of his *De doctrina Christiana*. Tyconius's other expository work was a commentary on the Apocalypse. It, too, was much admired; to it nearly all later commentaries on this book of the New Testament were indebted directly or indirectly. In consequence, although no manuscript of it has survived, it has been possible to reconstruct it in large part from later commentators.³

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of Jerome's work as a translator, textual critic, and commentator. Of all his undertakings that for which he is most justly and most universally famed is his translation of the Bible. At the time

¹ *Loc. cit.*, 255B: 'manifestum est ignorare animum nostrum, si lingua loquatur, quam nescit, sicut adsolent Latini homines Graece cantare, oblectati sono verborum, nescientes tamen quid dicant.'

² A critical text with a valuable introduction was published by F. C. Burkitt in *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, III, 1 (1894).

³ The modern literature on the subject is very ample, but see especially Traugott Hahn, *Tyconius Studien* (*Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche*, VI, 2 [1900]).

when he began his labours there was no standard version of the Old and the New Testament in Latin. Various translations existed and had existed for some time. For in the first part of the third century we find Tertullian, who was bilingual, generally making his own translations from the Greek, but familiar also with several Latin renderings current in his day. The Greek translation of the Old Testament, called the Septuagint, which even amongst the majority of Jews had usurped the place of the Hebrew, had to the Christians all the authority of an original text. To Jerome an undertaking which might seem at first to be relatively simple, if laborious, only gradually took on a more complex aspect when his occupation with the Greek versions ceased to satisfy the demands of his scholarship and led him to have recourse to the original language in which the Jewish Scriptures were composed. His first translation, begun by him at the request of Pope Damasus in 383, was a comparatively easy task. It consisted in revising a part of the old Latin version used in Rome at that date (the so-called *Itala*). In course of time many corruptions had crept into the text, which Jerome emended with the help of Greek manuscripts, without departing more than necessary from a version which age and religious conservatism had hallowed. When completed this revised rendering included the whole of the New Testament and the Psalms. The new Latin text of the New Testament rapidly passed into general use. That of the Psalter (known thereafter as the *Psalterium Romanum*) was used in Rome until the latter part of the sixteenth century, and parts of it are still preserved in the Roman breviary. After Jerome had become acquainted with Origen's *Hexapla* he began a new revision of the Old Testament, utilizing in the process not merely the Greek versions but the Hebrew text. Only the Psalms have survived in this version and have remained in use in the Roman Church to this day. Its usual name, *Psalterium Gallicanum*, arose from the fact that it first came into common use in Gaul. Great as Jerome's second undertaking was, he had not yet completed it when he decided to make a new Latin translation of as much as possible of the Old Testament direct from such Hebrew (or Aramaic) manuscripts as were accessible to him. Although this version was Jerome's greatest achievement, it only slowly won adequate recognition. Religious conservatism militated against its use in place of the venerated *Vetus Latina*, so that it was not till the end of the seventh century that it was generally adopted. And even

after that date the older Latin versions were used sporadically. This third version by Jerome, the so-called *Vulgate*, has remained in use in the Roman Church ever since. Only the new translation of the Psalter was set aside in favour of the more familiar *Psalterium Gallicanum*. Those books of the Apocrypha which Jerome did not translate—for instance, I and II Maccabees, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus—continued to be read in the older Latin version. By universal consent the *Vulgate*, taken as a whole, is a model of elegant and exact translation. For Jerome combined deep erudition, bred of a constant study of the Bible, with a rare gift of being faithful to the original in spirit, even if the divergent idioms of the two languages sometimes necessitated some freedom in the letter.

The earliest of Jerome's commentaries are those on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Galatians, the Ephesians, Titus, and Philemon. With the exception of the commentary on St. Matthew, which he dictated in a fortnight in 398, all his expository work from 389 to his death was done on the books of the Old Testament. The result was commentaries on Genesis, the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, and all the major and minor prophets. There is considerable variation in the scope and treatment, and consequently in the value, of these numerous expositions. Some were written, or rather, dictated, very rapidly, and the handling of the subject matter was correspondingly superficial. Others were elaborated with much more care. It is in those on Habbakuk, Daniel, Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah, the last named being unfinished at Jerome's death, that his best exegetical work is found. Although he himself defined the function of the ideal Biblical commentator as 'erecting on the foundation of history a spiritual edifice',¹ it is noticeable that many of his own commentaries, and amongst them some of the best, confined themselves almost wholly to the historical elucidation of the text. Further, what gave them a peculiar value to his contemporaries and to posterity was that their composition went hand in hand with his work as a translator and textual critic. For, in addition to expounding his author's meaning, Jerome constantly took note of the various Greek translations and of the Hebrew original as well. It has already been noted that he used Origen's *Hexapla*; we may add that the same

¹ Preface to the sixth book of the commentary on Isaiah (PL., 24, col. 205C)—'super fundamenta historiae spirituale extruere aedificium'.

Greek Father is the predecessor to whom Jerome is most constantly indebted in his exposition of the Old and the New Testaments.

There is a conspicuous contrast between the expository works of Jerome and of Augustine. The latter's ignorance of Hebrew and imperfect knowledge of Greek in itself precluded success in the sphere in which Jerome, the *vir trilinguis*, particularly shone. Again, like Ambrose's commentaries, many of Augustine's are essentially the work of a preacher. Their value lay especially in the ethical teaching which he put before his readers in the course of expounding passages of the Scriptures. Thus his homilies on the Psalms and on the fourth Gospel were particularly valued in the Middle Ages. Both Ambrose and Augustine took their pastoral duties very seriously and for the guidance of their flock wrote many shorter treatises dealing with particular moral questions. As a preacher Augustine surpassed even Ambrose, and posterity has assigned to him the first place among Christian orators in the West, even as it has placed John Chrysostom first among the Greeks.

It is indicative of the changed position of Christianity after the final triumph of Constantine that the need and therefore also the output of apologetic literature dwindled away, whereas in the previous century the defence of Christianity, be it against the government or against pagan philosophy, engaged the attention of the best writers. Among them Tertullian, Arnobius, and Lactantius may be named. In the early fifth century, however, and in either case owing to special circumstances, two remarkable works of this class were given to the world, Augustine's *City of God* and Salvian's *Governance of God*.

It is well known how in the earlier centuries of the Empire national calamities were often attributed by the Romans and their provincial subjects to the anger of the Roman deities at the new religion, if not to the baleful power of the Christians and their God. Early in the fifth century, under the influence of the catastrophic attacks of the Visigoths on Italy which culminated in the capture of Rome by Alaric in 410, there was a recrudescence of these anti-Christian feelings. Many fugitives from the capital found their way to North Africa. Among them were some who were still faithful to pagan divinities, and who loudly voiced their opinion that all the disasters which had befallen the Empire and had not even spared the venerated city of Rome, were due to the wrath

of the gods neglected in favour of Christ. To these charges Augustine undertook to reply, but the masterpiece which resulted took more than a dozen years to complete (c. 413-426). It is clear that its author envisaged the general plan of the whole work from the first. It is divided into twenty-two books. Of these the first ten are, in the proper sense of the term, apologetic; for they are devoted to answering the accusations of the pagans. The remaining books, on the other hand, are constructive, containing Augustine's own philosophic theory. Although he never loses sight of the main argument, the book contains a large number of digressions. The whole in consequence produces the effect of a rather loosely constructed work. The brief analysis, included in the *Retractationes*, of what his purpose and meaning in writing the *De civitate Dei* were, is so illuminating that it may here be quoted.

Meantime Rome was overthrown by an assault of the Goths under their king, Alaric, and by the onset of a great calamity. The city's overthrow, the worshippers of many false gods, whom we call by a name in general use, pagans, tried to attribute to the Christian religion and began to blaspheme the true God more sharply and bitterly than usual. At this I was fired with *zeal for the house of God* and set myself to compose the books concerning the City of God against their blasphemies and errors. This work occupied me for a number of years, because many other avocations which I might not put off intervened, and their completion took precedence of it. But at length this voluminous work concerning the City of God was brought to a conclusion in twenty-two books. The first five of these refute those whose view of human prosperity is such that, to ensure it, they deem the worship of many gods whom the pagans are wont to worship to be essential, and who maintain that our present ills have arisen and multiplied because those gods are banned. The next five books are addressed to those who, while admitting that mortal men have never been and never will be without these misfortunes which, now great, now little, vary in place, season, and in the persons affected, argue that the cult of many gods, in the form of sacrifice to them, will be useful on account of the life after death. Thus in these ten books those two opinions, which are idle and hostile to the Christian religion, are rebutted. But lest we might be reproved for having merely refuted the views of others without having set forth our own, the second part of this work, extending to twelve books, meets that demand, although, where necessary, in the first ten books we may state our views and in the last twelve may reply to opposing arguments. Of the twelve books, then, that follow on the first ten, the first four contain the origin of the two Cities,

that of God and that of this world; the next four their continuation or advance, the remaining four their merited end. All the twenty-two books, although they are written about both cities, received their name from the better city and so are entitled, concerning the City of God.¹

The term, *civitas Dei*, with which is contrasted the *civitas terrena* or *civitas huius mundi*, was not new. Augustine himself alludes to its occurrence in the Psalms (lxxxvi [lxxxvii] 3). He contrasts the city of Jerusalem with Babylon, and, in an allegorical sense, while Jerusalem stands for the city of all the saints, Babylon is equivalent to the city of all the sinners. Augustine was, however, familiar, as we saw, with Tyconius. This writer contrasted the *civitas Dei* with the *civitas diaboli*, of which 'the one yearns to serve Christ, the other to serve the world; the one desires to rule in the world, the other to fly from the world'. Augustine's use of the phrase is then akin to that of Tyconius, although in amplifying it he assigned to it a deeper, and in part a new, significance. Briefly stated, the philosophy of history laid down by Augustine consists in demonstrating how God's Purpose has through the ages been worked out in human society. The City of God is everlastingly being revealed in the world, whereas the states of men, the sum of which is equivalent to the City of the World, are mutable and perish from time to time. Though there cannot but be interaction here below between the *civitas Dei* and the *civitas terrena*, they, like their aims, are essentially different. For, while the former looks only to eternity, the aims of the latter are ephemeral and directed only to earthly well-being. The ultimate triumph of the City of God whose fulfilment will bring about peace everlasting, is the hope which renders the earthly City intelligible, since it will bring the realization that the constant growth and decline of human commonwealths and empires were but the preparation for the *civitas Dei*.

Parenthetically we must here refer to a book which was a sublunary amplification of one aspect of Augustine's masterpiece. Paulus Orosius was a Spanish priest. He became the disciple of Augustine, at whose instigation he wrote a work which belongs as much to apologetic as to historical literature. This fact is already hinted in its title, *Historiarum adversum paganos libri septem*. Books I to IV sketch the history of the Mediterranean world and Persia, V to VII are assigned to the history of Rome from 146 B.C. to the author's own

¹ *Retractationes* (ed. P. Knöll in CSEL., 36), 2, 69.

time. As a reply to the pagan charge that the disasters of Rome at the beginning of the fifth century were due to her desertion of her old gods and to the spread of Christianity, Augustine's pupil sets out to show from past history that the centuries which preceded the establishment of Christianity had been marked by wars and devastations and multiple miseries. Those years, he argued, were not merely as disastrous as his own times, but were worse than these the farther back in history we proceed. A history written deliberately to prove a certain thesis under the most favourable conditions would leave much to be desired as a historical source. But Orosius's compilation has other faults besides. It was hastily put together by a man of mediocre ability and education. There is a considerable parade of sources, but in reality the author relies for the most part on epitomes of earlier history. He refers to Livy, but it is more than doubtful whether he ever set eyes on the original. Similarly he alludes to Pompeius Trogus, whose work he knew only through Justin's abbreviation. But although the modern critic may rate Orosius's performance very low, his contemporaries and the generations that followed thought differently. Few works were more popular in the Middle Ages than this history, which was regarded as authoritative by scholars like Gregory of Tours, Isidore, Bede, and Paul the Deacon. Nothing demonstrates its constant use in the mediaeval period more palpably than the fact that the extant manuscripts number nearly two hundred, the earliest being a fragment of the sixth century.¹

The treatise of Salvian (c. 390-470) was, like Augustine's *City of God*, called forth by the political circumstances of the time, or, in other words, by the coming of the Germanic invaders, who in his day overran and occupied the greater part of Gaul. It sets out to defend the Divine Purpose against the accusations levelled against it by those who saw destruction and the ruin of the Empire taking place all round them. After proving in Books I and II, by appeals to reason, to the Scriptures, and to the past history of the Church, that God's Providence does rule the world, Salvian goes on to expose the corrupt habits and morals of Christian society. The overthrow of the Roman Empire by the barbarians is the retribution which its government and its inhabitants are paying for their unchristian life. And then Salvian proceeds, in what has become the most famous part of his book, to

¹ The standard edition is that by C. Zangemeister in CSEL., 5.

draw an elaborate parallel between the Romans and the invaders, both those who were still heathen and those who were Arians. The comparison is all in favour of the barbarian peoples whose purity of manners is contrasted with what Salvian in a previous passage had drastically described as the 'morass of vices' amongst the inhabitants of the Empire. Historians have differed in their estimate of the judgement passed by Salvian on two types of society. But even if it may be necessary to make some allowance for the *sacra indignatio* that sprang from an impassioned faith, the contrast between two groups of people, the one cultured but effete, the other vigorous if relatively rude, is both true and stated in a style and language of a very high order.¹

In historical writing the Latin West lagged far behind the Greek East. It was the merit of Jerome and of Rufinus, once devoted friends and later bitter adversaries, to make the epochal work in ecclesiastical history done by Eusebius accessible to the Latin-speaking world. Jerome translated the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, making some additions especially with reference to Roman history, while Rufinus rendered the same author's *Ecclesiastical History* into Latin. Both men followed up their translations by writing independent continuations, Jerome compiling a *Chronicle* of the period from 325 to 378, Rufinus composing what was the first ecclesiastical history written in the West, extending from 324 to the death of Theodosius I (395). While neither writer's work could compare with that of Eusebius, both were widely used, Jerome's *Chronicle* especially becoming a 'standard' work in the West. Very different was the fate of Sulpicius Severus's *Chronicle* which was published in or soon after 403. It was written in an attractive style, and was put together with great care and with the use of various earlier sources to ensure the greatest possible accuracy. But it met with little appreciation and seems to have been but rarely consulted by mediaeval students. In the fifth century Prosper of Aquitaine and the Spanish writer Hydatius wrote continuations of Jerome's *Chronicle*. The Vandal persecution of the orthodox Church in Africa was described by Victor of Vita. Hagiography was not neglected, although what was produced in this *genre* was of very unequal merit. The finest achievement was Sulpicius Severus's *Life of St. Martin of Tours*, which, unlike the same author's *Chronicle*, had an immediate

¹ Critical edition by F. Pauly in CSEL., 8, and by C. Halm in MGH. AA., I, 1.

and lasting success. Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, beginning with St. Peter and ending with Jerome himself, was the first attempt made to write a history of Christian literature. Though marred by errors due to hasty composition and, in general, somewhat sketchy in treatment, it was a pioneer work and contained much valuable material. A continuation with the same title was published in the fifth century by Gennadius of Marseilles, and we shall meet with later continuations completed in the seventh century. Lastly we may refer to the existence of many letters. Two collections stand out, because they are not merely of superlative value as source material for the history of the period, but deserve to be reckoned some of the most remarkable literary productions of the age. The collected correspondence of Jerome contains more than one hundred and fifty, that of Augustine nearly three hundred epistles. In either case these figures include some letters addressed to Jerome or Augustine by others.

Although there are some notable exceptions, Latin Christian poetry taken as a whole, if judged purely on its poetic merits, rarely rises above mediocrity. Many considerations served to bring this about. The most original minds used prose as the vehicle for their ideas. The only models which the writer of verse could study were the works of pagan poets. But language and metre, which in the right hands were adapted for singing the exploits or the loves of the heroes of classical mythology, became intractable and ill suited for telling the story of Genesis or of the Gospels. Phraseology, which had, so to speak, become standardized as epic diction might easily sound ludicrous or even profane if applied to Bible stories. Moreover, if the material for a poem were taken from the Scriptures, especially from the New Testament, the Christian poet would be bound to reproduce the language of the Bible as faithfully as possible, unless he wished to incur the stigma of impiety. But a prose translation of St. Matthew could not easily or satisfactorily be forced into heroic hexameters. Close acquaintance with pagan poets, manifesting itself in echoes of Vergilian or Ovidian phraseology, and less frequently in reminiscences of Horace or Lucan, is observable in most of the Christian poets, and the importance of Vergil as a model far surpassed that of any other classical writer of verse. The case of Juvenius is illuminating for our purpose. His poem on the story of the Gospels (*Evangeliorum libri*), written in dactylic hexameters, was published c. 330. In more than

three thousand lines he described the earthly life of Christ, basing his narrative mainly on St. Matthew, but making occasional additions from the other evangelists. It is clear that he had read widely in classical Latin poetry, since he knew the four poets mentioned above and some others besides. His hexameters are metrically correct, although there are traces here and there of accentual, in place of quantitative, scansion. Since he aimed to keep as near as possible to the words of the Gospels, not merely in the conversational but even in the descriptive passages, his feat of versification was no mean achievement. But it was at the cost of real poetic inspiration; and at the same time the recollection and the reproduction of names and phrases from the pagan epics must strike a modern reader as incongruous. The poem had, however, a striking success. It was studied throughout the Middle Ages, being especially popular in the Carolingian epoch. Long before that it had received the doubtful honour of becoming a quarry from which grammarians extracted tags to illustrate their desiccated rules. The fashion in choice of subject set by Juvenius found many imitators. In the first half of the fifth century, for instance, Sedulius composed his *Paschal poem* in five books. Its main theme is the miracles and the Passion of Jesus. Matthew and Luke were his chief sources. Like Juvenius, too, he was familiar with the classical poets, particularly Vergil, and wrote correct quantitative hexameters, although occasional licences can be found.¹ Sedulius also was greatly admired in the mediaeval period. In the sixth century we shall find Arator taking the story of *Acts* as the subject matter for a poem. Among tales from the Old Testament the story of the Creation was much favoured by poets. Thus the most successful portion of the poem, *In praise of God*, by the African Dracontius (end of the fifth century), treats elaborately the material provided by the opening chapters of *Genesis*.

Both poetically and formally the poetry of Paulinus of Nola (353-431) stands much higher. A native of Bordeaux, the pupil and friend of Ausonius, he had had an exceptionally thorough training in letters. He was a Christian from birth; in 390 he was baptized and soon after renounced all the goods of this world to live a life of poverty and asceticism, first in Spain, and, after c. 396, at Nola in Italy. He became bishop of that see in 409. The bulk of his poetry is composed in

¹ Juvenius and Sedulius have been edited by J. Huemer in CSEL., 24 and 10.

hexameters, but he also essayed elegiac couplets with success, and even iambic verse.¹ Among his earlier poems perhaps the best known is the versified letter addressed to Ausonius in reply to four verse epistles which he had received from his former teacher to dissuade him from his renunciation of a worldly life. Of purely religious content is a panegyric on John the Baptist, based on the Gospels, and several paraphrases of the Psalms. After his settlement at Nola he composed a series of poems in honour of St. Felix of Nola, whom he had chosen as his patron saint. Two others, describing the basilica of the saint, for the restoration of which Paulinus was responsible, are of interest, especially to the student of early Christian art. Yet another is an attack on pagan religion and mythology. There are also a good many occasional pieces and some metrical epigrams. Thus we see that Paulinus's muse was inspired by a diversity of circumstances. His verse, too, as we should expect from a pupil of Ausonius, is elegant and abounds in classical reminiscence. The inspiration, however, is very variable; only occasionally, as in some of the poems glorifying St. Felix, does the artist in verse betray real depth of feeling. In short, though one would rank him second among the Christian poets of the later Empire, he is at all points inferior to the Spaniard, Prudentius, who is incomparably the greatest of them all, even as he is superior to Ausonius and Claudian. Prudentius was born in 348. Fifty-seven years later he published a collection of his poems. From the preface we learn that he had pursued an official career and had finally attained to a position of considerable importance in the imperial service. How soon after 405 he died is unknown. His poetic output comprises four long poems, three running to a thousand lines each or over, the fourth, in two books, to nearly two thousand; two books of shorter poems and hymns in lyric metres; and one book of forty-eight little four-line poems describing scenes or episodes from the Old or the New Testament. Of the long poems the two books, *Against Symmachus*, are partly a diatribe against various heathen religions, partly a reply to Symmachus's plea for the toleration of paganism. It is noticeable that Prudentius, although he attacks Symmachus's proposal, concludes the first book with a noble panegyric on the man. The *Apotheosis* is a defence of Catholic orthodoxy

¹ His poems were edited by W. von Hartel in CSEL., 30. xxxiii is written in iambic trimeters, xxiv in alternating iambic trimeters and dimeters acatalectic.

against various heresies. The *Hamartigenia* has as its theme the refutation of gnosticism. The *Psychomachia* is a purely allegorical poem and the first of its kind to be written in the West. If its appeal to the modern reader is less than that of the other poems, it was the most popular of all Prudentius's works in the Middle Ages. The first of the two lyric collections (called *Cathemerinon*) contains twelve hymns, all of considerable length. The other (*Peristephanon*) is made up of fourteen poems in honour of martyrs. Their length varies greatly, the shortest consisting of only eighteen lines, the longest of eleven hundred and forty. Prudentius was a great metrical artist. In addition to dactylic hexameters and elegiacs he successfully experimented with fifteen other verse forms, such as sapphics, hendecasyllabics, the lesser asclepiad, anapaestic dimeters, dactylic trimeters, trochaic tetrameters, and several forms of iambic line. Most of these metrical schemes are found in the *Cathemerinon* and *Peristephanon*; but the long poems, which are in hexameter, are introduced by prefaces written in iambic trimeters or in the lesser asclepiad. Prudentius was most widely read in both pagan and Christian poets, as well as in Christian theologians, like Tertullian, Cyprian, and Lactantius. The many echoes of Vergil and other classical poets are so much part of his being that they do not give the impression of mere imitation.¹ Certain weaknesses are undeniable. Prudentius has not wholly emancipated himself from the literary affectations of his age. He tends to overload his verse with poetic imagery and there are too many echoes of the rhetorical schools. Like Propertius, he sometimes allows his erudition to swamp his poetic gifts, to the discomfort of the reader who is not either a theologian or an antiquarian. In those poems whose purpose is polemic or apologetic the dialectician occasionally triumphs over the poet. Yet there are two characteristics which atone for much and which must strike every reader of his poems, a burning patriotism for Rome and her history, her institutions and her civilizing mission, and an intense Christian fervour. These qualities combined with an exceptional literary training produced a poet whose work stands alone because it is a wellnigh harmonious blend of the best pagan culture with the purest Christian inspiration.

We have alluded above only to the most noteworthy Chris-

¹ The width of Prudentius's reading is brought clearly before one by a perusal of the *index imitationum* given on pp. 455-69 of J. Bergman's admirable edition of the poet, published in 1926 (CSEL., 61).

tian poets ; there were others whose work does not call for special mention in a short survey. But there was one *genre* of verse which must not be passed over, since it was the most original poetic contribution made by Christian writers. The two earliest composers of hymns, Hilary of Poitiers and Ambrose, in the matter of simple beauty and depth of religious feeling set a standard which was rarely equalled and never surpassed. Hilary's *Liber hymnorum* has unfortunately disappeared except for the fragments of three hymns. The attribution to him of some others is disputed. But Hilary's religious poetry does not seem to have met with the success that it deserved, for none of his compositions appear to have come into general use in the liturgy. The result is that the Church in general regards Ambrose as the founder of Christian hymnology. There is some doubt regarding the number of genuine Ambrosian hymns. The authenticity of four is unquestioned. These are the morning hymn, *Aeterne rerum conditor*, the evening hymn, *Deus creator omnium*, one intended to be sung at tierce, *Iam surgit hora tertia*, and the Christmas song, *Intende qui regis Israel*. Of fourteen others eight are almost certainly authentic works of the Bishop of Milan. Hilary had tried his hand at several classical metres. Ambrose, bearing in mind the needs and the limitations of large congregations, chose the simplest metrical form that he could, the iambic dimeter acatalectic. The scansion is still quantitative, not accentual, but there is occasional rhyme. Paulinus of Nola is credited by Gennadius with the writing of hymns, but they have not come down to us. The poems on St. Felix of Nola, however, partake somewhat of this character, but they were not suitable for general use in the liturgy. Some of the hymns contained in Prudentius's *Cathemerinon* are exquisitely beautiful. But in all the diction is too elaborate to make them suited for large congregations. Some, moreover, have the additional disadvantage of being composed in metres which would be unfamiliar save to a highly educated minority of church-goers. Thus, although the fine hymn (*Cathem.* 1) beginning, *Ales diei nuntius*, is in the simple metre favoured by Ambrose, two others of exceptional charm are written respectively in the lesser asclepiad and in anapaestic dimeter catalectic.¹ The fifth century produced little that was remarkable in this class of poetry with the honourable exception of Sedulius's famous hymn, beginning, *A solis ortus*

¹ Namely, No. 5 (*Inventor rutili, dux bone, luminis*) and No. 10 (*Deus ignee fons animarum*).

cardine. This very soon came into general use in the Church. Apart from this, it was not until the sixth century that there appeared in the person of Fortunatus a worthy successor to Ambrose and Prudentius.¹

¹ A full treatment in English of Christian Latin poetry will be found in F. Raby, *History of Christian Latin Poetry* (Oxford, 1927). An excellent essay on Prudentius is that by E. K. Rand in his *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Harvard University Press, 1928).

PART II

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTH TO THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY

CHAPTER IV

FROM BOETHIUS TO ISIDORE

(a) ITALY

IF a man's eminence is to be estimated by the influence which his work or thoughts have exercised on succeeding generations, then assuredly Italy in the sixth century produced four men, each of whom can claim a niche in any hall of Fame. And, though the achievement of Boethius, Benedict of Nursia, Cassiodorus, and Gregory I would be reckoned noteworthy in any age, it stands out with conspicuous brightness because the half-century which followed the deaths of Jerome and Augustine was one of intellectual decline throughout the Western Empire.

Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius was born c. 480. He was the scion of a senatorial family many of whose members had in the past held high office in the state. His father was consul in 487, an honour which Boethius himself enjoyed in 510, while the dignity was bestowed twelve years later on his two sons before they had attained to manhood. But in 524 his defence of a prominent senator of consular rank, Albinus, who was accused of plotting with the Byzantine government against Theodoric, brought upon him the wrath of the monarch whose favour he had long enjoyed and whom on his part he had faithfully served. Boethius was thrown into prison and, after a captivity lasting perhaps for several months, he was executed without trial. That he was himself innocent of any treasonable practices is probable. The king, though usually a clement as well as a shrewd ruler, was, like Theodosius I, not free from the momentary passion of the despot. His smouldering suspicions of senatorial loyalty burst into a flame of anger and found a victim in the most illustrious ornament of the Order. Political fear, not religious animosity

of an Arian prince towards an orthodox senate, wrought this judicial murder. In the course of a short life Boethius accomplished astonishingly much. For, although little is known of his official duties, they were undoubtedly heavy and demanded much of his time. He also set himself vast literary and scientific projects, only a part of which he was able to complete. His training must have been unusually thorough, being by no means confined to the customary rhetorical studies. For a sound mastery of Greek, such as he acquired, was by this time a rare accomplishment in the West; and no less uncommon was his acquaintance with Greek philosophy, especially with Aristotle and the Neo-Platonists. His earliest extant writings, the treatises, *De musica* and *De arithmetica*, as well as the lost *De geometria*, were the immediate outcome of his occupation with the subjects of the *quadrivium*. The intellectual studies which followed were more ambitious and more profound. For he planned to make the works of Aristotle and of Plato accessible in Latin. Actually only a small portion of this undertaking was completed, partly owing to his premature death, partly because he was not content to be a translator but essayed with success the rôle of expositor. Of Aristotle's works only the logical treatises were rendered into Latin by Boethius; and of these the *Categories* and the *De interpretatione* alone have survived.¹ He composed a commentary on the first and two on the second of these works. Similarly he translated the *Isagoge* of Porphyrius and wrote two explanatory treatises on it, the one in connexion with his own translation, the other as a companion volume to the earlier version of Victorinus. A commentary on Cicero's *Topica*, of which only a portion has come down to us, and five independent essays on logic make up the impressive total of Boethius's logical works. There is, it is true, far less originality in them than used to be supposed. For the commentary on the *Categories* and the two on the *De interpretatione* are free adaptations of Porphyrius.² But though derivative, they are owing to several circumstances of unique importance. It was from them that the western world derived its knowledge of Aristotle for the next six centuries, a knowledge not entirely confined to the Aristotelian system of logic, since Boethius's longer commentary on the *De interpretatione* contains not a

¹ The remaining translations going under Boethius's name are not by him.

² See J. Bidez in *Comptes rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, 50 (1922), pp. 346-50.

few citations from other writings of the Stagirite, and, it may be added, some quotations from Plato. Again, Boethius provided the scholars of succeeding ages with a technical terminology and many definitions which became classic and were ultimately approved and adopted by the Schoolmen.¹ It would be fascinating to speculate on the development of mediaeval thought which might have resulted had Boethius lived to complete his task of making the entire *corpus* of Aristotelian and Platonic writings available in Latin.

That Boethius succeeded in combining Christian orthodoxy with his philosophical pursuits there was never adequate reason to doubt, and the authenticity of four out of five of the theological tractates going under his name, vouched for, as it is, by Cassiodorus, his younger contemporary, may be regarded as established. They are concerned with the Trinitarian doctrine, with Being and the Good, and with the Eutychian or Monophysite heresy. Whether the remaining tractate, *De fide catholica*, which shows some stylistic, though no doctrinal differences from the other four, is from the same fertile pen is a moot point. Modern criticism has, in general, denied its genuineness. It should, however, be observed that, while in the four tractates Boethius is a Greek-trained logician dealing with dogmatic questions with the aim of harmonizing reason and orthodoxy, the tract, *De fide catholica*, contains a profession of catholic belief as a whole. This difference in subject to some extent explains a difference in style. Furthermore, it is a fact which has not been sufficiently noted that most of the less common words, which occur only in this and not in the other tractates or in the *De consolazione philosophiae*, can be found in the Vulgate. Familiarity with the Bible was to be expected of every orthodox and educated Christian—and Boethius was one—and echoes of it are natural enough in a treatise like the *De fide catholica* in which the author's approach is theological, not philosophic. Once the linguistic differences of this tractate are thus explained, the main argument against Boethian authorship seems to disappear and one is more disposed to include it amongst his genuine works.

In his last and most universally known book, written during the captivity which preceded his execution, Boethius appears once more as the devoted servant of philosophy. The literary form of the *De consolazione philosophiae*, with its intermingling of prose and verse, had been familiar to Roman readers ever

¹ Cf. the examples given by Grabmann, I, 157, with note 1 and 158.

since the time of Varro's *Menippean Satires*, while more recently it had been adopted by Martianus Capella for his fantastic treatise. The plan of the book is simple: as the prisoner in his confinement is engaged in composing, at the dictation of the Muses, elegiac couplets on old age and death, a woman of commanding aspect, with eyes shining like fire, having the vigour of youth, yet seeming so old as to belong to another age, appears before him. Driving the Muses away with contumely, the visitor, after some questioning, is recognized by Boethius as his old friend and guide, Philosophy. In the dialogue that follows—interrupted from time to time by a poetic interlude—Boethius recalls, with more than one tilt at the fickleness of Fortune, some of his experiences in public life, especially the circumstances which led up to his disgrace and imprisonment. Philosophy, after reminding him of his former devotion to her, gradually leads him from despair to resignation, then from resignation to disregard of human pains and pleasures, and lastly to that true contentment which reason allied with virtue alone can give. In the last chapter of Book V, Philosophy utters a sublime passage, which, so far from being out of keeping with the rest of the book, in reality may be said to express Boethius's mature view how reason and faith may be reconciled, and philosophy and religion, so far from being antagonistic, may combine to attain the same end. After bringing the belief in Providence into harmony with the freedom of the human will, the speaker concludes thus:

For this force of the divine knowledge comprehending all things with a present notion appointeth to everything its measure and receiveth nothing from ensuing accidents. All which being so, the free will of mortal men remaineth unviolated, neither are the laws unjust which propose punishments and rewards to our wills, which are free from all necessity. There remaineth also a beholder of all things which is God, who foreseeth all things, and the eternity of His vision, which is always present, concurreth with the future quality of our actions, distributing rewards to the good and punishments to the evil. Neither do we in vain put our hope in God or pray to Him; for if we do this well and as we ought, we shall not lose our labour or be without effect. Wherefore fly vices, embrace virtues, possess your minds with worthy hopes, offer up humble prayers to your highest Prince. There is, if you will not dissemble, a great necessity of doing well imposed upon you, since you live in the sight of your Judge, who beholdeth all things.¹

¹ This and the following citations are taken from the seventeenth-century version by I.T., revised by Stewart and Rand.

The *De consolazione philosophiae* contains no new philosophical theory, and the echoes of Aristotle and later Greek philosophers may be many and constant. But it is surely idle to judge the book as if it were a treatise composed by the author in his study with all the resources of an ample library. The prisoner in his dungeon had few, if any, books; and in this, his last work, as he reflects on the eternal problem of human happiness and human suffering, he is reproducing, consciously or unconsciously, much that in more prosperous days his memory had absorbed in the prolonged study of the Greek thinkers. The work has had its admirers in all ages, for its appeal is many-sided. As sincere as Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations*, it is without the pessimism of the Roman Stoic, having rather the same power of comforting the afflicted that many have found in Thomas à Kempis. Its literary artistry, the skill with which the argument is made to progress, make us overlook the occasional rhetorical artifice, and, whilst admiring the dramatic qualities of the work, ponder the philosophic reflections it provides. The mediaeval biographer who said of it that Boethius in it so excelled in both prose and verse that he was not inferior to Cicero in the one medium or to Vergil (in another version, to Homer) in the other, was not wholly wide of the mark.¹ True, no one would now agree that such praise for the poetical passages is warranted; but the comparison to Cicero is more justified. For, if the *Hortensius* could inspire not merely a Minucius Felix, but it and the rhetorical works of Cicero an Augustine to the last years of his life,² the *De consolazione philosophiae* was an inspiration to Dante as well as to countless lesser mediaeval men. And, if we extend the comparison to the Boethian writings as a whole, then there is this further ground for likening the two men. Just as Cicero transmitted the post-Aristotelian systems to his countrymen, and, in so doing, enriched the Latin language with many new terms, so Boethius gave posterity a logical system of enduring value and a philosophical vocabulary in which to expound it.

The theological tractates enjoyed a wide popularity at least from the ninth century onwards; the *De consolazione philosophiae* was the favourite philosophical treatise of the Middle Ages. While John Scotus wrote a commentary on the former,

¹ Cf. Peiper's edition of the *De consolazione philosophiae* (Teubner, 1871), Introduction, pp. xxxi and xxxiii.

² The last book of Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, written in 426, is closely modelled on Cicero's *Orator*.

an example followed by later scholars, the latter was translated into Old English by Alfred and into Old High German by Notker Labeo. The extant manuscripts of the tractates number about one hundred and seventy; those containing the *De consolazione philosophiae* nearly four hundred. In either case the manuscripts vary in date from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries. In addition, old library catalogues make it clear that *codices* of the *De consolazione philosophiae* were to be found in several monastic libraries of northern France during the eighth. Again, from both the theological treatises and from Boethius's last work definitions and judgements were culled, whose authority might be said almost to rival that of the Fathers. Of such we may instance the definition of Person, 'The individual substance of a rational nature',¹ of Providence, 'Providence is the very Divine reason itself, seated in the highest Prince, which disposeth all things',² and of eternity, 'Eternity is a perfect possession altogether of an endless life'.³ If the modern reader should find less of interest in those *dicta* which especially engaged the attention of mediaeval theologians and schoolmen, he will still find many a wise and pithy utterance to arrest and stimulate his thoughts. 'For in other living creatures the ignorance of themselves is nature, but in men it is vice'⁴; 'Finally prosperity with her flatterings withdraweth men from true goodness, adversity recalleveth and reclaimeth them many times by force to true happiness'⁵; 'But whom prosperity maketh our friend, adversity will make our enemy'⁶; 'But esteem the goods of the body as much as you will, so that you acknowledge this, that whatsoever you admire may be dissolved with the burning of an ague of three days'.⁷

Far less is known of the life of Benedict than of that of any of his three eminent contemporaries. He wrote nothing save

¹ *Tract.*, V, 3—*Persona est naturae rationalis individua substantia.*

² *Cons.*, IV, 6—*Providentia est ipsa illa divina ratio in summo omnium principe constituta, quae cuncta disponit.*

³ *ibid.*, V, 6—*Aeternitas igitur est interminabilis vitae tota simul et perfecta possessio.*

⁴ *ibid.*, II, 5—*Nam ceteris animantibus sese ignorare naturae est; hominibus vitio venit.*

⁵ *ibid.*, II, 8—*Postremo felix a vero bono devios blanditiis trahit, adversa plerumque ad vera bona reduces unco retrahit.*

⁶ *ibid.*, III, 4—*Sed quem felicitas amicum fecit, infortunium faciet inimicum.*

⁷ *ibid.*, III, 7—*Sed aestimate quam vultis nimio corporis bona, dum sciatis hoc quodcumque miramini triduanæ febris igniculo posse dissolvi.*

his *Rule*, which may in part illumine the author's character but contains no details of his career; while the only biographical source of value, the second book of Gregory's *Dialogues*, aims chiefly at illustrating the miraculous powers of the saint. Benedict was born (c. 480) at Nursia in Umbria. His parents being in good circumstances in due course sent the boy to Rome for his education. At what age he came and how long he tarried there is not known, but before his training was completed, and when he had scarcely attained to manhood, he broke away and retired to a cave near Subiaco, there for a space to live a hermit's life. Disgust with the depraved habits and pleasures of his compeers in Rome was the cause of this decision, says the biographer, giving a single reason for an action proceeding from a complex mental process. A yearning for religion and a mystic craving to serve God by sacrificing the goods of this world are a spiritual experience through which many a youth has passed. But what with the more part is a passing phase in the case of a few determines the whole course of their lives; and so it was with Benedict. In time disciples came to live in his vicinity, so that ultimately he established twelve small religious communities, each of twelve monks, close by the cave to which he had first retired. About 520 he left Subiaco and proceeded to Monte Cassino in Campania, where he founded a larger monastery. Not many years later he began the composition of his *Rule* which was probably published c. 526. In 542 he received a visit from an illustrious personage, the Ostrogothic king Totila. The date of his death is uncertain but most likely falls in 550 or a little later.¹

The *Rule* contains a preface and seventy-three chapters, most of them brief. The monasticism there portrayed is the perfect communal life of the older and younger brethren who form, as it were, a large family, owing complete and unquestioning obedience to the *Rule* and to the abbot, who rules with paternal autocracy. None may have any private possessions, while the conduct of monks who have leave temporarily to absent themselves from the monastery is strictly regulated.² The novice, having passed through a full year's probation

¹ The present writer desires to acknowledge his great indebtedness to Dom John Chapman's recent book, *St. Benedict and the Sixth Century* (London, 1929). A number of the conclusions in this truly remarkable work have been adopted above.

² Briefly the *Rule* is made up as follows: Chapter 1, the four types of monk; 2-3, the abbot; 4-7, the instruments of good works, the monastic virtues of obedience, taciturnity, and humility; 8-18,

when he is to be received into the community, is to make his vows in the oratory before all concerning his stability and monastic observance in his conduct (*conversatione morum suorum*), and is to promise obedience before God and His saints to the end that, if he shall ever act contrary thereto, he may know that he stand condemned by Him whom he mocks.¹

The daily life of the brethren consists of the proper performance of the canonical office, manual occupations, and devotional reading. The proportion of time allotted daily to each of these duties varies to some extent according to the season of the year. Apart from the instructions to set aside a portion of the day for reading and to appoint a weekly *lector*, who shall read aloud at meal times,² there are no instructions respecting intellectual pursuits. A proper procedure for the admission of boy oblates is laid down, and, though nothing is said of their training, they must have received education sufficient to enable them to take part intelligently in the divine services and to read the Scriptures. The reason why nothing further is specified regarding education, copying of manuscripts, or the details of each monk's daily labours, whether in handicrafts or in 'brain-work', will become apparent when the purpose of the *Rule* has been explained.

Benedict himself, it is true, never finished his education, but it would be a mistake to take Gregory's *dictum* about him—*scienter nescius et sapienter indoctus*—too literally. He knew his Bible well. Although the works mentioned specifically by him in the *Rule* are not many—the *Collations* of Cassian, the *Lives of the Fathers*, the *Rule* of St. Basil—it has been demonstrated that he was himself widely read in monastic

liturgical chapters giving minute directions for the services at the canonical hours and for the proper psalms and lessons at each; 19–20, chapters supplementary to the preceding and laying down the proper spirit to be observed in psalmody and prayer. The remaining chapters deal with the organization and discipline of the religious community, the admission of oblates, of priests who desire to live in the monastery, and of travelling monks, and the election of the abbot and of the prior or provost (*praepositus*).

¹ *Regula* 58. The meaning of the Latin words cited in brackets has been finally elucidated by Chapman, *op. cit.*, chap. xii; but there seems no reason to change the manuscript reading *conversatione* to *conversationem*, as he has done. The sense in either case remains the same.

² *Regula* 42—*legat unus Collationes vel Vitas Patrum aut certe aliud quod aedificet audientes—non autem Eptaticum aut Regum quia infirmis intellectibus non erit utile illa hora hanc Scripturam audire.*

literature and knew some of the works of Jerome and Augustine.¹ The latinity of the *Regula* must not be used as proof of Benedict's poor education. Much of it is colloquial, especially the liturgical chapters which it would be incumbent on every monk thoroughly to know and understand, although indeed he had to be familiar with the *Rule* as a whole; and it is this use of the vulgar tongue, with its breakdown of inflexions and its unclassical constructions, which the stylist trained thoroughly in literary Latin glibly labels ungrammatical.² Benedict does not appear to have known Greek, for, with a single exception, all the Greek words and the few Greek constructions used by him had long before become an integral part of the vocabulary of Latin theological writers. Furthermore, Chapman has brought forward cogent reasons for believing that Benedict was familiar with Dionysius Exiguus's collection of canons translated from the Greek, and has stressed the strongly legalistic tone and phraseology of the *Rule*. We are thus brought face to face with the question, which has been answered in several, mutually irreconcilable ways, what was the occasion and purpose of the Benedictine *Regula*? It has been held that it was composed specifically for Monte Cassino, but its wording contradicts that hypothesis in a number of places. The objections to the view that it was framed for Monte Cassino and such other houses as Benedict may have intended to found are no less decisive. Moreover, one of its noteworthy features is the reference to abuses and, considering its brevity, the great amount of space devoted to penal enactments. In other words, its aim is not to lay down ordinances for a new foundation or even for a new monastic order, but to amend laxity in observance and to introduce uniform practice in existing monasteries. The conclusion to which the most recent investigator is led and which he supports by an elaborate chain of reasoning is that Benedict drew up the *Rule* not merely for the monasteries of Italy, but as a general monastic Rule for Western Christendom.³ Chapman's arguments, drawn from the *Rule* itself, are further

¹ Cf. the copious references to sources in the second edition (Freiburg i.B., 1927) of Dom Cuthbert Butler's edition of the *Rule*.

² Cf. the text of the *Rule* with a full linguistic commentary by B. Linderbauer. It was published at Metten in 1922 and reissued with corrections as Heft 17 of the *Florilegium patristicum* at Bonn in 1928.

³ See especially chapters ii and xi of Chapman's book. Occasionally the learned author's theories rest on insufficient evidence and must be treated with caution. Cf. the friendly but judicious review by Abbot F. Cabrol in *Dublin Review*, July, 1930, pp. 119-32.

strengthened by the proofs furnished that, within a very few years of its composition, it had become known both in North Africa and Southern Gaul, and was probably utilized by Justinian in certain monastic regulations embodied in that emperor's *Novellae*.

The great merit, then, of the *Rule* is its simplicity and an elasticity that permitted its use by men living in different ages and under different social and climatic conditions. As far as it goes the *Rule* was intended by Benedict to be obeyed absolutely. Beyond that the widest possible discretion is left to the abbot. It is this happy combination of authority in certain basic principles with great latitude in dealing with matters of detail and with circumstances that would vary from country to country, which ensured the success of Benedict's work and made the Benedictine *Rule* all but universal in the West by the Carolingian age.

The career of Cassiodorus—his full name was Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator—was, in spite of certain similarities, in strange contrast to that of Boethius. Like Boethius, he came of a good family whose members had held high office, and he himself had a distinguished official career. He was born c. 490 at Scyllacium in Southern Italy, was quaestor soon after 507, consul in 514, and before 526 had become *magister officiorum*. Finally, in 533, he attained to the dignity of Praetorian Prefect. He thus filled important posts under three Ostrogothic kings, Theodoric, Athalaric, and Vitiges; yet not all his energies were given to the arduous duties of his office, since from 519 onwards he found time for research and composition. Unlike his older contemporary he retained the confidence of his masters throughout the thirty or so years of his administrative life. This may have been in part a fortunate accident; but mainly we must attribute Cassiodorus's success to his own temperament and inclinations. Eminently practical as he was, he had a genuine admiration for the new masters of Rome, and loyally promoted the policy of the Ostrogothic rulers so to harmonize Gothic and Roman interests as to form an inwardly united body politic. His intellectual pursuits or recreation, too, followed a different line to those of Boethius; for, if we except the short treatise, *De anima*, none of his writings deal with philosophical subjects. But he had a profound interest in Higher Education, regretting especially the absence of facilities for studying and teaching Christian literature in the thorough way that had long been applied to pagan authors. To Pope Agapetus he

unfolded a scheme for founding a school or university of Christian studies at Rome ; but it could not be carried out owing to the disturbed condition of Italy during the short reign of Vitiges which culminated in the collapse of Ostrogothic rule in Italy (540). The precise date at which Cassiodorus retired from public life is uncertain, but it was probably a year or two before that catastrophe. He withdrew to his ancestral home in Bruttium, and there, at Scyllacium, he gave effect in a modified form to his educational plans by founding a monastic community. Its name, Vivarium, was derived from the fish-ponds (*vivaria*) that were one of the attractive features of the site. Cassiodorus has himself left some description of it. Such were its allurements that, not without a touch of humour, he thus counselled his monks :

Thus it chances that your monastery is sought out by others rather than that you can justifiably yearn for the outer world. But these (amenities of the monastery), as you know, are the delights of temporal things, not the future hope of the faithful ; the former will pass away, the latter will abide without end. But placed there (at Vivarium) we will more readily transfer our longing to those things which will make us to reign with Christ.¹

In this community Cassiodorus remained till his death at the advanced age of over ninety,² indefatigably engaged in the twofold project of furthering his educational ideals and, with admirable farsightedness, of collecting manuscripts of the great literature of the past, Greek and Latin, pagan as well as Christian. In addition he was himself a prolific author during these years. The works which he had given to the world during his public life were historical. A chronicle, which appeared in 519, is, save for the latest years, a compilation from Jerome and other early sources ; it does not appear ever to have enjoyed any measure of popularity. His *History of the Goths* in twelve books was a more ambitious work, published between 526 and 533, for which he used both Greek authorities and the treatise of a Gothic author, Ablavius. In 551 the Goth Jordanes brought out a shorter *History of the Goths*, which was little more than an abbreviation of Cassiodorus. It is very regrettable that the shorter work has survived while Cassiodorus's, perhaps partly on account of its length, was lost at quite an early date. In 537 Cassiodorus issued his *Variae*, a collection of letters and communications

¹ *Inst.*, I, 29.

² He was ninety-three when he published the *De orthographia*. How soon after he died is not known.

written by him during thirty years in the name of his royal masters, as well as his own official correspondence during his tenure of the Praetorian prefecture. These four hundred and sixty-eight documents form a historical source of first-rate importance, though their turgid style makes them difficult reading and at times obscures the sense.¹ Although, as will appear, Cassiodorus's interest in historical writing did not wholly cease, his own compositions after his retirement to Scyllacium were of a different nature. It was in order to make clear to the monks of Vivarium the whole scope of his educational programme that he composed what must rank as his most important work, *Institutiones divinarum lectionum* (or *litterarum*) and the far less notable *Institutiones saecularium lectionum* (or *litterarum*), published between 551 and 562.² Comparing the ascent to a proper understanding of the Scriptures to Jacob's ladder, the rungs being the writings of the Fathers, he in the *Institutiones divinarum lectionum* proceeds to detail a scheme of study for his monks. 'Read assiduously, diligently return to your reading. For constant and intent meditation is the mother of understanding', is the counsel he gives at the outset.³ After referring to his own Biblical studies and to his work of collating the most ancient manuscripts of the Bible that he was able to obtain, he describes the contents of each of the nine volumes which make up the monastery copy of the Old and New Testaments. Furthermore, he explains which are the best commentaries on each book, for example, Augustine and Ambrose on *Genesis*, Hilary, Ambrose,

¹ It is, however, mistaken to blame Cassiodorus, as is often done, wholly for this. For it must be remembered not merely that the epistolary style of the Romans from the time of the younger Pliny tended in accordance with popular taste to be florid and artificial, but that the language of official documents became more and more elaborated and overladen with high-sounding phrases. This can be studied in many of the inscriptions from the third century on, and, above all, in the *Theodosian Code* published in 438. Apart from the somewhat ornate preface to the *Institutiones*, Cassiodorus in his later writings is clear and easily intelligible, which shows that his style had not been permanently vitiated by official correspondence. Any one who would wish to see how constant familiarity over a number of years with departmental and diplomatic 'jargon' can permanently affect a man's literary style should read the third volume of Bismarck's *Gedanken und Erinnerungen*.

² The two works are commonly and conveniently referred to as *Institutiones* I and II. On the dates between which the *Institutiones* must have been written see P. Lehmann in *Philologus*, 71 (1912), pp. 282 ff.

³ *Inst.*, I, preface: Legite assidue, recurrite diligenter. Mater est enim intelligentiae frequens et intenta meditatio.

Jerome, and Augustine on the *Psalms*, Jerome and Hilary on *Matthew*, Ambrose on *Luke*, and Augustine on the Fourth Gospel. It is noteworthy that Cassiodorus is prepared to find some good even in heretical writers. Thus, some parts of the commentary on the *Apocalypse* by the Donatist Tyconius are profitable reading, 'other observations in truth that he interspersed are the very dregs of his poisonous teaching'; and we shall see that the works of Pelagius also engaged his attention. Next he passes on to some explanatory remarks about the four chief councils of the Church—Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon—and after that gives some account of Jerome's and Augustine's division of the Scriptures together with some notes on the Greek and Old Latin versions. There follows a most interesting section in which he lays down the methods to be followed in emending the Sacred Writings where a manuscript is corrupt, and so forth. Unusual phrases are to be left untouched, even if they do not conform to the Latin usage of Cassiodorus's own day. Hebrew names are to be left undeclined. Only obvious spelling mistakes—v for b, n for m—shall be corrected. One piece of advice the modern critic and palaeographer must reprehend: emendations in the text are to be as well written as the original, 'that they may rather be thought to have been written by the ancients (*i.e.*, the original scribes)'. After a chapter devoted to praise of the Bible he proceeds to give a kind of syllabus of other writers whose study he advocates. There we find a good selection of historians, mainly ecclesiastical, some works on geography, and a number of agricultural and medical treatises. But, above all, he stresses the need for acquaintance with the liberal arts, 'the knowledge of those subjects is undoubtedly—so too it seemed to the Fathers of the Church—useful and not to be shunned, since you find that it is everywhere diffused in the Sacred Writings, as though it were in the fountain-head of general and perfect wisdom', and he justifies the study of secular literature strictly as a means to an end. In this his attitude is in line with that of Jerome, Augustine, or Basil, but in marked contrast to that of his younger contemporary, the future Pope Gregory I. The promise he gave to attempt a more detailed treatment of the liberal arts is fulfilled in the *Institutiones saecularium lectionum*. This is a far less interesting work than the preceding, being in fact little more than a compilation from earlier sources. The sections on grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic are of considerable length, but the other four *artes* are very briefly treated. Quite at

the end of his life Cassiodorus produced a separate treatise on orthography ; this also, though it enjoyed great popularity in later times, contains little that is original.

One activity of the community of scholars at Vivarium which is alluded to in the *Institutiones*, was the translation of Greek writers into Latin.¹ The famous *Tripartite History*, to which Cassiodorus wrote an introduction, was a Latin version by Epiphanius of the ecclesiastical histories of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret. Some parts of the Greek originals were omitted, as the history in its Latin form was compressed into a single volume. The selection and arrangement, which appears to have been carried out by Cassiodorus himself, must have been done in haste, as they can only be described as careless. No less valuable was a Latin rendering of Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews*. Cassiodorus's Biblical studies resulted in the composition of several exegetical works, namely the lengthy *Commenta psalterii*,² and the rather sketchy *Complexiones* on the *Pauline* and *Pastoral Epistles*, *Acts* and the *Apocalypse*. To these we may add the commentary on the *Pauline Epistles* which has come down to us under the name of Primasius, Bishop of Hadrumetum. The true history of this work and Cassiodorus's share in it have been unravelled with masterly skill by A. Souter, who has shown that it is an expurgated version of Pelagius's exposition. The commentary on *Romans* was purged by Cassiodorus himself of the heretical portions and augmented by him with other passages from Augustine, Jerome, and some others. The task of freeing the interpretation of the other *Epistles* from unorthodox doctrine was carried out by Cassiodorus's helpers, and it is worthy of note that great care was taken by both master and pupils to correct the text of the New Testament in the original commentary so as to make it agree with the Vulgate.³

¹ *Inst.*, I, 17.

² Not *Complexiones in psalmos* as P. de Labriolle has it in his *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne* (ed. 2, 1924), p. 675. He appears to have confused the title of the commentary on the *Psalms* with the other work, which he does not mention.

³ See A. Souter, *Pelagius' Exposition of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul*, Part I, Introduction (1922) ; Part II, Text (1926), the whole forming Volume IX of the *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, edited by J. Armitage Robinson. For the Cassiodorus commentary see Part I, p. 15, where Souter cites the passage in which Cassiodorus refers to his treatment of Pelagius's commentary on *Romans* (*Inst.*, I, 8) from the eighth-century *codex* of the *Institutiones* at Bamberg, and pp. 318 ff.

Although there is no positive evidence that Cassiodorus knew Benedict, it has been shown by Chapman that he was acquainted with and cited from the *Rule*.¹ Hence it is likely that the organization of Vivarium was in general accord with Benedict's ordinances. Cassiodorus, baulked of his scheme to establish a Christian university at Rome, spent the second half of his life in carrying them into effect on a smaller scale in Southern Italy. His community was one of Christian scribes and scholars. He himself laid down in detail the plan of studies which the members of the community were to follow. Those not fitted for intellectual pursuits might work in the fields and orchards of the monastery. In the centuries following his death monasteries became almost the sole repositories of culture and education in Western Europe; the same period saw the general adoption of the Benedictine *Rule*, a gradual but sure process. The fact that these developments could hardly have been as widespread or as successful as they were without the support and encouragement of enlightened temporal rulers does not detract from the greatness or the importance of Cassiodorus's life-work in setting so inspiring an example and so high a standard of achievement for later generations to emulate. Yet, on the other hand, the fate of Cassiodorus's own works during the earlier Middle Ages is curious and still in part unexplained. His least original book, the commentary on the *Psalms*, which is mainly an adaptation of the work of earlier scholars, notably Augustine, was widely known and used from Bede's time onwards.² Again, the second book of the *Institutiones* and the *De orthographia*, both treatises of little originality because chiefly compiled from earlier sources, were also very popular. But *Institutiones*, Book I, which sets out so clearly Cassiodorus's own educational aims and methods and which was fitted to be an invaluable guide for all Christian students, was from the first strangely neglected. Extant manuscripts show that

¹ Chapman, *op. cit.*, chapter vi.

² Although Bede mentions Cassiodorus by name on several occasions, he often uses his commentary on *Psalms* without acknowledgement. Instances of such borrowings are given by P. Lehmann in *Philologus*, 74 (1917), pp. 359-60, and others can be added. For example, the description of the topaz in Bede's commentary on the *Apocalypse* (Migne, PL., 90, 200C-D; Giles, *Beda's opera*, xii, 442) is taken bodily from Cassiodorus on *Psalms* 118, 127, just as the accounts of other precious stones in the same work of Bede are taken without acknowledgement from Isidore's *Etymologies*. But see below, p. 126, for Bede's use of his sources.

the transmission of Books I and II of the *Institutiones* was very different. Book II was often to be found alone, and we find leading men of letters, like Isidore, Bede, or Alcuin, familiar with it, yet showing no trace in their works of any acquaintance with Book I. Among extant manuscripts also there are some which contain only Book II, notably the venerable Würzburg codex (late eighth century).¹

The most obvious debt of posterity to Cassiodorus is the preservation of ancient writings, sacred and profane, which would have perished in those disturbed days but for his zeal in bringing together as large and diversified a library as possible. The result was an impressive and, in spite of gaps, a very representative collection. Besides most of Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome, and the chief works of Hilary and John Cassian, there was a number of less well-known treatises and commentaries, such as Primasius on the *Apocalypse*, Pelagius's exposition of the *Pauline Epistles*, or the works of Tyconius. The Greek theological writers, on the other hand, were rather poorly represented by the Biblical commentaries of Origen, and small portions of the writings of Athanasius, Clement and Cyril of Alexandria, and John Chrysostom. Of historical works, both pagan and Christian, there was a goodly number. Philosophy was chiefly represented by the translations and commentaries of Boethius. A very large collection of grammatical works, but few rhetorical treatises—though Quintilian was amongst them,—some Ciceronian speeches, Horace, Lucan, Vergil, and, finally, some medical and agricultural handbooks made up a library of remarkable richness in that age as well as one admirably adapted to those purposes which Cassiodorus had in view.²

It was probably in the very year in which Belisarius made himself master of Ravenna and took Vitiges prisoner (540) that the future pope Gregory I was born. Little is known of his earlier life. His parents were both members of good Roman families, and their son presumably enjoyed the usual education of his class. He was destined for an administrative career and advanced so far that he became *praetor urbanus* at Rome in or shortly before 573. When his father died not long afterwards, Gregory used his ample fortune to found

¹ The fact that two versions, a shorter and a longer, exist of *Institutiones* II is immaterial to the argument, but is another proof of the greater popularity of this book.

² For a more detailed account of the library at Vivarium the reader should consult Leclercq's article 'Cassiodore' in *DACL.*, II, 2 (1910), coll. 2357-65.

seven religious houses, six in Sicily and one dedicated to St. Andrew in his father's mansion at Rome. To this he himself retired as a monk. His exceptional talents must, however, have become well known, for much against his will he was compelled to abandon his cloistered life, first to become seventh deacon of Rome, and then to take the very responsible post of papal nuncio (*apocrisiarius*) in Constantinople. This position he appears to have filled for six years (579-585?). On returning to Rome he was elected abbot of St. Andrew. In 589, on the death from pestilence of Pelagius II, Gregory in spite of his strong protests was chosen to succeed him.¹

Few men placed in a position of the highest authority have lived through times as difficult and troubled as were the fourteen years during which Gregory occupied the chair of Peter.² By virtue of its patrimony the Roman see was now the largest landowner in Italy, and, in addition, held much property in other parts of the Empire. Even with an efficient staff of helpers the proper direction of the resulting business was a heavy burden. The maintenance of good relations with the Temporal Power—the Emperor at Constantinople and his representative in Italy, the Exarch of Ravenna—was at times a difficult task. Frequent plagues and famines and the constant attacks of the Lombards drained Italy of her people and her resources, and entailed frightful misery for the survivors. And it was to the pope that men looked first of all to guide them, succour them, and help them through these calamitous years. Even a robust man might have quailed at the labour and responsibility. Gregory fulfilled his high destiny with such success that his papacy became a model for future incumbents in the Roman see; in addition he found some time for authorship, although throughout his tenure of the papacy to his death in 604 he was constantly racked by a painful malady. Of his official actions the one fated to have the most weighty consequences in the history of culture was the dispatch in 596 of the mission under Augustine to convert the English, a project which he had apparently envisaged some time before he became pope. Hardly if at all less momentous were his untiring efforts to establish western monasticism on a secure foundation. An intense admirer of

¹ His installation was only carried out on September 3, 590, after the Emperor's sanction had been obtained from Constantinople.

² The fullest account of Gregory's life and work is F. H. Dudden's *Gregory the Great: his place in History and Thought*. Two volumes (London, 1905).

St. Benedict, he strove to increase the number of religious houses not only in Italy and Sicily, but wherever his authority was of sufficient weight, to remedy abuses in existing nunneries and monasteries, and to secure the general adoption of the Benedictine *Rule*. For the history of these endeavours as for his multifarious administrative duties the fullest source is the vast collection of his letters, more than eight hundred in all.

It is, however, with his teaching as found in his other writings that we are here concerned. Although all his genuine works were published after 590, the longest, his exposition in thirty-five books of the Book of Job, had been begun years before when he was still at Constantinople. It was finally given to the world in 595. The *Dialogues* had appeared in the previous year. The forty *Homilies on the Gospels* seem to have been delivered by himself or read for him by notaries during 590 and 591. They were followed by twenty-two *Homilies on Ezekiel*. The official version of the former was not published till 593, that of the latter not till 601 or 602. Finally the *Liber Regulae Pastoralis* or *Pastoral Rule* was issued by Gregory at the very beginning of his papacy.¹

His longest work, *Moralia in Iob*, can hardly be called a commentary. For the explanation of the literal or historic sense of the book forms but a small fraction of the whole. The full exposition of the allegorical and moral senses is Gregory's task, the result being a combination of mystical interpretation with lengthy disputations on Christian ethics, which to most modern tastes is exceedingly far-fetched and tiresome. A typical example of this exegesis will best explain Gregory's methods. The following is his disquisition on the words (*Job xxx. 4*) 'and the root of junipers was their food':

(*Heretics*) seek the gain of this life alone. The juniper tree has pricks at the point of its leaves. The leaves it puts forth are so rough that like thorns they avail to prick him who handles them. Now every sin is a thorn, because, while it draws to pleasure, it as it were by its pricking, lacerates the mind. Hence the voice of the just and penitent man saith (*Psalms xxxi. 4*): *I have communed with my grief while it is broken by a thorn*, because verily the mind turns to lament so that by repentance the pricking of sin may

¹ For doubtful or spurious works the reader is referred to Dudden, I, 191-2. For the Gregorian antiphony cf. Dom R. van Doren, *Étude sur l'influence musicale de l'abbaye de Saint Gall* (Louvain, 1925), chapter i; for the so-called Gregorian Sacramentary see *DACL.*, VI, 2, 1776-96.

be broken. However, in another translation the reading is not 'broken by' but 'impaled on' a thorn, a version which really signifies the same because the penitent's mind is drawn to grief, while the fault committed is impaled and held fast in his mind. By the juniper root therefore what else is meant save avarice, from which the thorn of all sins is produced. Concerning which Paul saith (1 *Timothy* vi. 10): *The love of money is the root of all evil*. Avarice arises in the mind secretly, but openly it brings forth in its work the pricks of all sins. It is these pricks in sooth that rise up from this root to which the admirable preacher alludes, when he adds (*ibid.*): *which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith and pierced themselves through with many sorrows*. For, in speaking of many sorrows, he has, so to say, indicated the pricks that are born from this root. Therefore by junipers, yea and by the root of junipers, what else do we understand than avarice, that is, the substance of sins? Since, then, heretics for the most part in their words pursue worldly gains alone, and, knowing full well that they are raising up perversity, nevertheless do not forsake the teachings of errors, while they wish to gain the rewards of would-be learned men, a holy man has now well said concerning them: *and the root of junipers was their food*; inasmuch as, while they ponder avarice with all the senses of their mind, they, as it were, feed on that food from which undoubtedly the pricks of ensuing sins are born. And these men, if ever they wisely find aught in the sacred words, while they understand them not, imagine that they support their own assertions; and then with noisy clamour they scatter these words on their unhappy hearers for whose substance, not their souls, they hunger.¹

The work was not intended by its author for the general public. Hearing that the Archbishop of Ravenna had ordained that extracts from it should be read to the congregation, he wrote to the sub-deacon there:

I have not welcomed the information which has come to me from the account of certain persons, that my reverend brother and fellow bishop, Marinianus, is causing my commentary on the blessed Job to be read publicly at Vigils. For that work is not popular, and to uninstructed hearers is productive of hindrance rather than of help. . . . I do not wish, while I am in this flesh, that whatever it has fallen to me to have said, should be generally made known to men.²

This process of 'stripping off the bark of the letter to find a deeper and more sacred meaning in the pith of the spiritual sense'³ is not confined to Gregory's esoteric writings. We

¹ PL., 76, 150A-C.

² *Epist.*, 12, 6.

³ 'Retecto cortice literae, altius aliud et sacratius in medulla sensus spiritualis invenire', Bede, Pref. to the commentary on Ezra (Giles, viii, 360).

meet it constantly in his sermons, even in those on the New Testament which are far more popular in tone than the *Homilies on Ezekiel*.¹ Nor is it wholly absent from the *Regula Pastoralis* and the *Dialogues*.

Gregory was a great preacher, though he lacks the polished elegance of an Ambrose, a Chrysostom, or an Augustine. In one respect at least he was an innovator, for he frequently introduces near the end of his discourse some story with which to keep his hearers' interest alive and from which to point a moral. As for their content, the chief interest of the *Homilies* lies in the picture they afford of the unhappy political and social conditions of his age. The four books of *Dialogues* form a collection of miracles, visions, and prophecies. Beyond the fact that Books 1 and 3 are mainly devoted to miraculous events—raising from the dead, healing, expulsion of unclean spirits, and so forth—while Book 4 chiefly relates to dreams and visions and 2 is devoted entirely to Benedict of Nursia, there is no particular arrangement or unity in the work. But the treatise of Gregory which betrays most originality, because it is based on his personal experience, is his *Pastoral Rule*. It is divided into four books. In the first Gregory, likening the bishop's work to that of the physician, describes it as the healing of souls, a metaphor which, as applied to the philosopher, is at least as old as the Platonic Socrates.² The bishop must be specially suited by nature and training for his task, and reluctant to undertake it, but not beyond a certain point. We are given a careful description of the character of one fitted for the episcopate and then of one who is not. Both chapters are especially noteworthy. The second book deals with the bishop's life, that is to say, just as Book 1 discusses him *per se*, so Book 11 treats of him in relation to his fellow-men, and more particularly to those placed under his spiritual charge. He must be a good psychologist, so as to tell sham from real virtue. He must be practical, too, yet not so as to give too much attention to mundane matters. In one of his sermons, indeed, Gregory lamented the excessive worldliness of bishops in his day.³ In the third book his preaching and teaching are considered,

¹ Cf. for instance the explanation of the senses in *Homil. in Ezek.*, I, 9, 30 (PL., 76, 883B). For an example in the *Homilies on the Gospels* see PL., 76, 1082C–D.

² Cf. Plato, *Politicus*, 293A, 295–6; *Sophist*, 230C. In the former case the statesman's, in the latter the educator's art is compared to the physician's.

³ *Homil. in Evang.*, I, 17 (PL., 76, 1146A–D.)

and Gregory, emphasizing that the bishop's instruction must always be suited to his hearers, distinguishes no less than thirty-six types of person to whose different needs his advice and exhortation must be adapted. The brief fourth book is a reminder to the bishop to know himself, or, in Gregory's own words,

he must take great care to bite himself with the laceration of fear, lest he, who by healing other men's wounds, recalls them to health, may himself swell up through neglect of his own safety, may while helping others forsake himself, may fall whilst raising others up.¹

All the works of Gregory, 'the Fourth Doctor of the Latin Church', enjoyed unrivalled popularity and exerted a tremendous influence throughout the Middle Ages. One or more of his works might be expected in any monastic library, as is shown by library catalogues from the eighth century on. The number of extant manuscripts is exceedingly great. More than a dozen chrestomathies are known compiled from the *Moralia* or other Gregorian works, the earliest in date being that by the monk Paterius, a younger contemporary of the pope.² He was used and quoted, with or without acknowledgement, during the succeeding centuries with as much constancy as Jerome or Augustine. His *Pastoral Rule* was cited as definitive in several councils of the Carolingian age, showing that this book had attained a quasi-canonical standing. This same work was translated into Greek by Anastasius of Antioch in Gregory's lifetime, while a Greek version of the *Dialogues* was made in the eighth century by Pope Zacharias. When the vernacular tongue began to be used as a literary medium in England, works by Gregory were amongst the first to be translated. For the *Regula Pastoralis* and *Dialogues* were rendered into Old English by Alfred and his helpers. Nearly a century later Aelfric translated some forty Latin homilies, amongst them being several by Gregory. At St. Gall his contemporary, Notker Labeo, translated portions of the *Moralia* into Old High German, while the existence of sundry manuscripts of the *Dialogues* and *Homilies* with Old High German glosses is an additional proof of the zeal with which their author was studied. A

¹ PL., 77, 125B.

² It may be noted that the seventh book of Bede's commentary on the *Song of Songs* is composed entirely of extracts from the writings of Gregory.

thirteenth-century manuscript now at Berne contains an Old French rendering of the first twelve *Homilies on Ezekiel*.¹

Gregory was neither a profound nor an original thinker. His spiritual master was Augustine whose teaching and doctrines he assimilated with rare thoroughness, yet without sounding completely the full depths of Augustine's thought. Compared with Boethius or Cassiodorus, or with the great theologians of the fourth century, he lacks distinction as a writer, as well as width of culture. The Bible, which he must have known wellnigh by heart, is virtually the sole source from which he introduces citations into his writings, and he does so constantly. His attitude to pagan letters, as expressed in the preface to the *Moralia* and in the famous letter to Desiderius of Vienne, has often been discussed though not always with felicity. For in reproving the Gallican bishop for lecturing on profane authors Gregory doubtless had in mind, first and foremost, that a bishop, to be true to his high office, could and should have no time for anything else. Yet he adds :

For the same mouth cannot sing the praises of Jupiter and the praises of Christ. Consider yourself how offensive, how abominable a thing it is for a bishop to recite verses which are unfit to be recited even by a religious layman.²

This shows his general disapproval of secular literature. The reason for his attitude is, perhaps, not far to seek. Social conditions in his time were very different from what they had been one hundred and fifty years before. The decline of general culture in Italy and beyond, which had resulted from the unstable political conditions accompanied by much social and economic distress, was productive of a lowering of moral standards, and at the same time promoted the growth of popular superstitions. The man who would reform moral laxity and transform superstition into beliefs sanctioned by the Church would see in pagan literature his worst enemy. The condemnation of rhetoric and grammatical composition, on the other hand, must not be taken too seriously. Who can blame Gregory for condemning in those who wrote on sacred subjects the type of literary preciousness which in the previous century had produced the letters of Apollinaris Sidonius? But he himself is not as uncouth an author as he would have us believe. For he is the man who penned

¹ Hagen, *Catalogus codicum Bernensium* (Berne, 1875), No. 79.

² *Epist.*, II, 34. The translation is Dudden's.

that very paragraph in the preface to the *Moralia* which has just been considered; who could describe St. Benedict (Pref. to *Dialog.* II) as 'scienter nescius et sapienter indoctus'; who could pen a passage like the following, in which each half sentence perfectly balances the other:

Sit rector bene agentibus per humilitatem socius, contra delinquentium vitia per zelum justitiae erectus; ut et bonis in nullo se praeferat, et cum pravorum culpa exigit, potestatem protinus sui prioratus agnoscat, quatenus et honore suppresso aequalem se subditis bene viventibus deputet, et erga perversos iura rectitudinis exercere formidet.¹

Is it not self-evident that in his youth he had studied at least the first three of the liberal arts to some purpose? The most remarkable gap in Gregory's education is his ignorance of Greek. If he did not himself assure us of this, we should find it difficult to believe that he could reside six years in Constantinople without acquiring some knowledge of that tongue. Gregory was above all a practical man and an organizer. If, as can scarcely be doubted, he had more than a little imperiousness in his nature, he had learnt as a monk and as an abbot first to obey, then to command. To such a man authority and faith were of more weight than reason. For authority there were two sources, Holy Writ and Tradition. Nor had Gregory the Pope lost the austerity of Gregory the monk. He was thus thoroughly consistent in stressing the need of penance, and in elaborating the doctrine of purgatory, which in itself was not new, and elevating it to the dignity of a Church dogma, which was new. Gregory's God, one is tempted to observe, is the stern Jehovah of the Pentateuch and the Prophets rather than the God of Love of the New Testament. Yet, just as his letters reveal him labouring amid war, pestilence, famine, and flood for the bodily welfare of his people, so in the sermons and *Dialogues* he provided them with the spiritual food which they could best assimilate. The popular belief of that age in all varieties of supernatural phenomena, and not least in the malignant agency of evil spirits, belief which often had its deepest roots in pagan cults, no man, not even Gregory, could have suppressed. But he could and did transform or harness it to serve the end of Christian dogma. His teaching is the primary source of those practices and doctrines which are so inseparable from the religious life of the Middle Ages—the worship of saints, the

¹ *Reg. Past.*, II, 6 (PL., 77, 34B).

veneration of relics, the doctrine of demons and angels who often intervene directly in human affairs.

His influence on Church organization and on the development of the Church's authority was no less profound. The tropological or moral interpretation of the Scriptures has its most important exponent in him ; and what is its purpose ? To interpret any given passage in the Bible as referring to individual Christians and still more to the Church of Christ. His attitude to heretics is unrelenting, even to the point of what the Germans call 'Schadenfreude'. There is only one Church in which man can hope to find salvation.

For it is [he says], the Church alone through which God willingly accepts a sacrifice, the Church alone which intercedes with confidence for those that are in error. The true Sacrifice of the Redeemer is offered only in the one Catholic Church. It is the Church alone in which a good work is fruitfully carried on. It is the Church alone which guards those who are within it by the strong bond of charity. It is the Church alone in which we truly contemplate heavenly mysteries. For truth shines forth from the Catholic Church alone.¹

The Church is the sole authority on doctrine. The Temporal Power, though it may be required to intervene against the enemies of the Church, has no right to meddle with spiritual matters or with the affairs of the Church. But, unlike the great popes of later ages, Gregory deprecates the interference of the Church or its ministers in secular business ; nor is there any hint that the ecclesiastical authority should ever usurp the powers of the state. The 'consul of God' ² might write fearlessly to the Emperor, but he did not challenge his supremacy.

In Italy in the first half of the sixth century it was not merely in Rome that secular letters were still cultivated. Both at Milan and at Ravenna there were schools of rhetoric. For it was in the capital of the exarchate that Venantius Fortunatus received his early training, while Milan could boast of several teachers who were also authors. Ennodius, though a native of Arles, was educated there in the school of Deuterius. He later entered the Church, ultimately to become Bishop of Pavia (513). His writings in prose and verse are charac-

¹ *Moralia*, 35, 13 (PL., 76, 756C-D). The translation is Dudden's.

² See the concluding couplet of Gregory's epitaph, quoted by Bede, *Eccles. Hist.*, 2, 1 :

Hisque Dei consul factus laetare triumphis ;
Nam mercedem operum iam sine fine tenes.

teristically turgid and artificial, giving abundant proof of his acquaintance and sympathy with profane literature, but they are lacking in ideas and make irksome reading. It is interesting, nevertheless, to find a highly placed ecclesiastic advocating in a letter to two young men the study of the liberal arts.¹ Arator was his protégé and at first his pupil; later he continued his studies under Parthenius. He became an advocate, and then entered the government service. Finally he withdrew from public life to become a sub-deacon of Rome. The only certain date in his life is the year 544, in which he presented to Pope Vigilius his poem in two books on the *Acts of the Apostles*. In this work he attempted to combine two different things; for it is partly an epic narrative of which Peter and Paul are the heroes, partly it is expository of *Acts*, the poet wearying the reader especially by his fondness for allegorical interpretation. Arator was evidently well read in the chief classical and the earlier Christian poets. Yet his mastery over the hexameter is not perfect, nor can his ear have been very sensitive to rhythm, seeing that we find as many as eleven consecutive lines (1,695-705) with the same caesura. The popularity of the poem in the Middle Ages was great. It reached Britain early, being cited by Aldhelm and still more by Bede. Later it became favourite literature with the authors of the Carolingian age. In Italy itself it seems to have had little vogue, and still less in Spain. In monastic circles naturally intellectual occupation centred mainly in theology. Eugippius, abbot of the monastery of St. Severinus near Naples, which was noted for the activity of its *scriptorium* and the richness of its library, is characterized by Cassiodorus as remarkable more for his knowledge of Scripture than for his acquaintance with secular authors.² A life of St. Severinus and a massive chrestomathy of excerpts compiled by Eugippius from Augustine are extant.

(b) NORTH AFRICA, SPAIN, AND GAUL

Conditions in North Africa, Spain, and Gaul during the sixth century were far less favourable to culture and intellectual life than in contemporary Italy, where the rapid decline only set in after the destruction of the Ostrogothic kingdom, whereas in the other countries war, invasions, and the misery that came in their train, filled the entire century.

In Africa, so long a home of secular culture and a nursery

¹ This letter, entitled *concinatio didascalica*, will be found in MGH.AA., VII, pp. 310-15.

² *Inst.*, I, 23.

of great theologians, a feeble flame of learning continued to flicker. Perhaps the most interesting figure is Flavius Cresconius Corippus, who was by profession a teacher. He had probably reached middle life when he published his epic poem in eight cantos on Justinian's general *Johannis* and his successful campaign against the Moors (546-548). It is not only a valuable historical source but a work of marked poetic merit. The author was steeped in the poetry of earlier ages—Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, Claudian, as well as some of the Christian poets—and reminiscences, especially from the *Aeneid*, abound on every page. But, if Corippus is heavily indebted to others for the language and cadences of his poem, he has at least thoroughly absorbed what those masters could teach him, and he is a far more skilful versifier than his contemporary, Arator. The *Johannis* is sustained at a surprisingly high level, and some passages in it little deserve the neglect with which the work is habitually treated. The battle descriptions are full of spirit (*e.g.* 4,136-90), the speeches are natural and free from the artificiality of the rhetor (*e.g.*, 1,377-410 or 2,357-413), and there are true grandeur and pathos in the description of the gallant captain who, after sustaining a magnificent fight against a host of enemies, perishes with his steed in a marsh. It may be quoted as a specimen of Corippus's art at its best (6,753-74):

Est locus in mediis longe praeruptus harenis,
 fluminis in morem pelagi quem margine fluctus
 alluit atque undis agros concludit amaris
 egrediens: quibus alga locis limusque relabens
 atque altum tremulo putret sub gurgite caenum.
 Huc ubi pervenit, nigras equus horruit algas
 et pavidus post terga redit. Tunc naribus afflans
 erexit geminas (signum formidinis) aures,
 datque latus spumatque ferox oculosque retorquet
 prospiciens, nec dirum audet temptare periculum.
 Finierat spatium vitaeque viaeque repugnans
 dux, heu, magnanimus. Sequitur clamoribus hostis
 densus agens turbansque virum. Tunc calce frequenti
 pulsat equum geminans et magnos concutit armos.
 Exsilit impulsus sonipes cursuque negatam
 temptat adire viam, absorptusque voragine mersit
 ipse cadens, dominumque super gluttivit hiatu
 terra nefanda fero, rapuitque ex hoste receptum
 suscipiens fortuna virum, ne staret inermis
 aut humilis precibusque rogans, tribuitque sepulcrum,
 ne nudum in Libycis iacuisset corpus harenis.

Corippus gave a successful public recitation of his poem at Carthage, which shows that there at least this popular form of intellectual entertainment still survived in spite of the clash of arms and the surrounding desolation. His more tangible reward was a post in the imperial civil service in the eastern capital. His other work, a panegyric on the emperor Justin II, published c. 567, is a bombastic and wearisome composition.

The African prose writers were, with the exception of Victor, bishop of Tonnenna, who compiled a chronicle extending from 444 to 567 and devoted almost wholly to ecclesiastical affairs, all theological. Primasius, bishop of Hadrumetum, is the author of a commentary on *Revelation* which enjoyed some popularity in later centuries.¹ Verecundus wrote an exposition of the *Song of Songs*, while Junilius composed an introduction to the study of the Bible (*institutio regularia divinae legis*) in which he reproduced the views of Theodore of Mopsuestia. He had become familiar with these during a residence at Constantinople through the discourses of the Syrian Paul of Nisibis. The middle of the century was marked by an embittered theological dispute caused by Pope Vigilius's action in condemning, in deference to the importunate demands of Justinian, the so-called Three Chapters.² In Africa the Pope's conduct was viewed with especial disfavour and provoked both polemic and expository writings. Ferrandus (died c. 546) is best known as the author of a life of Fulgentius of Ruspe and as the first man in Africa to put together a collection of canons (*breviatio canonum*) partly Eastern, partly African. A number of his letters has, however, survived also. One of them, addressed to two Roman deacons, deals with the doctrinal controversy just named, and condemns the decision of Justinian on the ground that it is a direct attack on the Council of Chalcedon. A younger contemporary, Facundus, launched an elaborate treatise, *In defence of the Three Chapters* (c. 550). It was followed some years later by a short but virulent diatribe, *Against Mocianus*, and a pamphlet entitled,

¹ Primasius's commentary will be found in PL., 68. Bede in his commentary on the Apocalypse names Primasius once (Giles, xii, 400), but borrows verbally from him in other places, e.g.: P.805D and B.348; P.810B and B.353; P.851D and B.371; P.932A-B and B. 449.

² For this, and for the Christological disputes of the fifth and sixth centuries generally, see Schubert, pp. 117 ff. and the literature there quoted; also, E. Buonaiuti, *Il Cristianesimo nell' Africa romana* (Bari, 1928).

Letter of the Catholic Faith in defence of the Three Chapters. The *Breviarium Nestorianorum et Eutyichianorum*, written between 555 and 567 by a deacon of Carthage, Liberatus, was very timely. For it offered in a convenient form a *résumé* of the Christological disputes which had agitated the eastern, and to some extent the western, Church from the patriarchate of Nestorius (428-431) to the fifth Oecumenical Council (553). The writer, who consulted good sources and presented his material well, was himself a staunch defender of Chalcedon and the Three Chapters.¹

Spain, once one of the most cultured as it was one of the most prosperous provinces of the Roman Empire, had fallen on very evil days. In the first half of the sixth century the Visigothic kingdom had declined in power and territory before the attacks of Byzantine commanders in the South and of the Franks in the North. The Suevic kingdom had shrunk till it embraced no more than the north-western corner of the peninsula (Galicia). Difference of creed was a no less potent factor of disruption than difference of race or of political allegiance. For the struggle between orthodoxy and Arianism was nowhere more acute than there. With the accession of Leovigild (567-586) Visigothic fortunes revived. He recovered important centres like Malaga and Corduba from the Byzantines, wrested Narbonne from the Franks, and made himself master of the Suevic kingdom. A staunch Arian, he took measures to repress Catholic orthodoxy, and banished its most prominent adherents. His successor, Reccared, however, adopted the Catholic faith, and from his time the temporal and spiritual rulers of Spain strove with fanatical zeal to secure the absolute triumph of Catholic belief. The steps taken against Arians and against Jews were especially severe. The new era of orthodoxy was ushered in by the important Third Council of Toledo (589).

The number of writers in sixth-century Spain was small ; most of them are little more than names recorded in Isidore of Seville's short literary history, *De viris illustribus*. Justus, bishop of Urgel, whose name appears amongst the signatories of the Second Council of Toledo (531) and of the Council of Lerida (524), was the author of a brief commentary on the *Song of Songs*, in which the interpretation is entirely allegorical. His brother, Justinian, bishop of Valentia, composed a treatise now lost in which five questions of dogma

¹ The works of Ferrandus and Facundus will be found in PL., 67, that of Liberatus in PL., 68.

were expounded according to orthodox teaching. Their contemporary, Apringius, bishop of Pace, compiled a commentary on the *Apocalypse*. Of far greater distinction was Martin. 'He was a native of Pannonia, whence he set forth for the East to visit holy places, and became so well versed in letters that he was held second to none among the men of his day.'¹ From the Orient Martin found his way to Spain for reasons and in circumstances that are unknown. In Galicia he founded an abbey at Dumio and became its first abbot. Somewhat later he became bishop of Braga. His chief fame rests on his missionary labours which brought about the complete conversion of the Suevi from the Arian to the Catholic belief, a work that had already begun but had not greatly advanced before Martin's arrival in Spain. His extant works, though all very brief, give proof of his zeal and ability, and bear out the general truth of Gregory of Tours' eulogy. His strenuous work as an ecclesiastical administrator is illustrated by two tracts on baptism and on the paschal question, as well as by the prominent part which he played at the First and Second Councils of Braga (561 and 572).² His authorship of ten chapters submitted and approved in 572 is certain; but it is very probable that he also compiled the Acts of both Councils. The knowledge of Greek which he had acquired in the East he utilized for the benefit of his monks by translating into Latin a collection of 109 utterances attributed to Egyptian abbots, while, at his instigation, a monk, Paschasius, who was also familiar with Greek, produced a rendering of another similar collection, entitled *Verba seniorum*. Of greater interest are Martin's two ethical treatises, *De ira* and *Formula vitae honestae*, not because they show his independent thought, but because both are adaptations and abbreviations from works of the younger Seneca, the former from Seneca's treatise of the same name, the latter from the lost *De officiis*.³ From this we also learn that some at least of Seneca's works were still available in the land of his birth during the sixth century. The authorship of two other ethical tracts attributed to Martin has been disputed.

That a missionary and reforming bishop should cultivate

¹ Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, 5, 27 (37).

² For Martin's tracts see PL., 72, and for the translations from the Greek PL., 73. The Acts of the two Councils of Braga will be found in Mansi, IX.

³ On the lost *De officiis* and Martin's use of it consult E. Bickel, in *Rheinische Museum*, 60 (1905), pp. 505 ff.

the art of preaching might have been safely assumed even without concrete proof. Fortunately a lengthy sermon by Martin has survived which shows that he had powers of popular exposition in simple but idiomatic Latin, free from barbarism, which were little inferior to those of Caesarius of Arles. The *De correctione rusticorum* is a sermon composed at the request of a fellow-bishop, Polemius of Asturica.¹ Its main purpose is to combat the idolatry and pagan practices which seem still to have been very rife among the peasants of his day. The bishop begins by discoursing on the origin of idolatry and the belief in pagan gods. From this he passes to the life and Passion of Christ who was sent to redeem the world and to the Last Judgment. There follows the second part of his address, in which he reminds his hearers of the promises that they made at baptism, and demonstrates how their heathenish practices and superstitions are in direct contradiction to their former professions. A general exhortation to persist in good works and orthodox belief, and especially to keep Sunday holy, brings this notable composition to a close. The references to all manner of rustic superstitions are of particular interest. We hear how the country folk kept days of moths and mice (11) or lit candles by rocks, trees, fountains, and at cross-roads; how they observed pagan rites on the first of the month or celebrated the Volcanalia; how it was the custom to drop bread into wells, to wreath houses with laurel, to make offerings to trees, and to follow other abominable practices (16). Thus the sermon throws a vivid light on the beliefs of the common folk, beliefs which were widely prevalent also in Gaul and Italy. That the evil which Martin strove to suppress still flourished nine years later is proved by the sixteenth chapter of the Third Council of Toledo, which reads:

Whereas throughout almost the whole of Spain and Gaul idolatry has flourished, the holy synod, with the consent of the most glorious king, has decreed thus: that every bishop in his diocese, together with the judge of the territory, shall most sedulously seek out the aforementioned sacrilege, and, when he has discovered it, shall not delay to stamp it out.²

Martin of Braga was not the only Spanish prelate in this age who knew the Byzantine world. His younger contempor-

¹ It has been edited with a valuable introduction and commentary by C. P. Caspari under the title, *Martin von Bracara's Schrift De correctione rusticorum* (Christiania, 1883).

² Mansi, IX, 996.

ary, the Goth, John of Biclaro, spent some time in Constantinople *c.* 573. Six years later he was back in Spain, and, being a Catholic, suffered exile by the command of Leovigild. After the king's death (586) he founded the monastery after which he is named; it seems to have been in Catalonia, but its site has not been identified. In 591 John was raised to the see of Gerona, which he administered until his death about thirty years afterwards. He has left us a chronicle which begins at the point where Victor of Tonnenna's leaves off, and which covers a period of nearly a quarter of a century (567-590). In a truly Thucydidean spirit he informs his readers that the events which he relates were either experienced by himself or learnt by him from the lips of reliable witnesses. The one written source which he appears to have consulted was the Acts of the Third Council of Toledo. His chronicle has been generally recognized as a valuable and reliable source, the more so as he succeeds in being impartial where we should least expect it. He fully recognizes the greatness of Leovigild's achievements and omits all reference to the religious persecution of which he was himself a victim.¹

The summit of scholarly achievement in Spain was attained by Isidore at Seville. His elder brother, Leander, who became bishop of Seville *c.* 576 and was himself a respectable scholar, was, owing to the early death of their father, responsible for the boy's upbringing. Presumably Isidore was from the first destined for the Church and became deacon and priest at the earliest legitimate date. For when he was about thirty years of age (in 599 or 600), he succeeded his brother as bishop of Seville, occupying that see until his death in 636. He presided at a Council held in Seville in 619 and at the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633. Otherwise no trustworthy facts are recorded of his life, which was mainly devoted to scholarship. Amongst his friends and correspondents the chief was Braulio, bishop of Saragossa, who edited Isidore's last and greatest work and composed a short biography, in which he enumerated, probably in chronological order, the many writings of his friend.

Isidore was a polymath whose literary labours touched every branch of human knowledge. The variety of the subjects on which he wrote and the width of reading thereby entailed demonstrate the richness of the library at Seville in his day. Isidore appears before us in all his works—with the possible exception of the *Synonyma*—as a compiler. But, if he made

¹ For the chronicle see MGH.AA., XI, 1, 207 ff.

no original contributions either to theological thought or to secular learning, his most ambitious compilation became a standard work of reference for centuries to come.¹ We may first take note of his theological works. The *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum* are an exposition of certain books of the Old Testament based almost wholly on earlier commentators. While the treatment of the Hexateuch, especially Genesis, runs to some length, the sections on Samuel I and II, Kings I and II, Esdras and Maccabees are exceedingly brief. Isidore indicates his sources at the beginning, namely, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Fulgentius, Cassian, Origen—a Latin translation is meant—Victorinus, and Gregory the Great. It is Augustine and Gregory to whom he is chiefly indebted in this work as also in his *Sententiae*, in which he expounds the nature of the Trinity and of the Angels, and various parts of Christian dogma. The earthly life and Passion of Christ form the subject of the first book of the *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos*, the second book being a polemic against the Jews whose treatment of the Saviour was punished by the destruction and desolation of Jerusalem, while they themselves have been crushed or dispersed. In his *De ecclesiasticis officiis* and his *Regula monachorum* the author deals very fully with the different parts of Christian worship and the duties of Christian men, and lays down wholesome precepts for the guidance of those devoted to a Christian life. In these works also Isidore largely reproduces the teaching of earlier theologians. He follows Gregory the Great, for whom he feels the greatest veneration, in emphasizing the importance of interpreting the Bible allegorically and in teaching a threefold sense of Scripture.² Considering Isidore's own predilection for secular learning, we are a little surprised at his instructions to monastic readers. His attitude recalls that of Gregory rather than that of Cassiodorus. 'Let the monk beware of reading the books of gentiles and heretics. It is better for him to be ignorant of their pernicious doctrines than through

¹ The complete works of Isidore, reprinted from the edition of Arevalo, will be found in PL., 81 to 84. For the *Chronicle* and the *History of the Goths* Mommsen's edition (MGH. Chron. Min., ii) should be used, for the *Etymologies* the edition by W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911).

² Cf. *De fide*, 2, 20 (PL., 83, 528C). His simile for the three senses is noteworthy: 'unde et arca, quae construebatur a Noe, bicamerata et tricamerata fieri iubetur, quod intra Ecclesiam omnis legis materia et historia locum habeat, et mysticum sensum recipiat, et informationem morum contineat.'

making acquaintance with them to be enmeshed in error.'¹ His further instructions would delight any librarian's heart; manuscripts are to be borrowed at the beginning of each day, late-comers not receiving one, and shall be returned after vespers. The two treatises, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* and *Regula monachorum*, represent only a small portion of the unusually important and influential work done by Isidore during his long tenure of the episcopacy in the difficult but necessary field of canon law and ecclesiastical government. He was not only unwearied in improving the organization of the Church in Spain and regularizing both the conduct and lives of the clergy and striving for uniformity in liturgical observance; he also played a very momentous part as a canonist. For it seems probable that the codification of ecclesiastical law embodied in councils and decretals, which goes under the name of the *collectio Hispana*, was largely his work, or at least was carried out under his general supervision. It is not wonderful therefore that his subsequent influence was exceedingly great. For it was not only in Spain that his dogmatic and ecclesiastical authority became unrivalled. It was also invoked in the Frankish Empire, notably at the council of Aix in 816, the *acta* being full of citations from our author, while the monastic rule of Isidore was one of the works consulted at the same date by Benedict of Aniane when he was engaged in carrying out his monastic reforms.²

The so-called *Synonyma* is a devotional work, a lamentation for the sorrows of the world, followed by exhortation and counsel how to live like a true Christian, thereby winning the reward of divine forgiveness and ensuring the true happiness of a spiritual life.

From the bishop's historical studies there resulted a *Chronicle*, extant in two recensions, and a *History of the Visigoths*, to which are appended brief accounts of the Vandals and Suevi. This work is prefaced by a short panegyric on Spain, apostrophized by the author in the second person. It cannot be said that either of these compositions, put together as they are from a large collection of earlier histories and chronicles, has any marked historical or literary value. The *Chronicle* was frequently copied, and a century later was used by Bede,

¹ *Reg. monach.*, 8 (PL., 83, 877C).

² This side of Isidore's activities and his influence during later centuries in the field of canon law form the theme of an elaborate monograph by Dom P. Séjourné, entitled, *Saint Isidore de Séville; son rôle dans l'histoire du droit canonique* (Paris, 1929). The reader will find there also full references to earlier literature on the subject.

whose greatly superior work to a considerable extent superseded Isidore's. Of the literary history, *De viris illustribus*, to which reference has already been made, only a portion was actually written by the bishop of Seville. But by far the most important and influential of Isidore's books were the cosmographical treatise, *De rerum natura*, and, above all, the *Etymologiae* or *Origines*. The former, which is dedicated to King Sisebut, begins with the various divisions of time and then passes on to the sun, moon, planets, and stars. It concludes with short sections on different natural phenomena, on the sea and on the River Nile, on earthquakes and Mount Etna. In the main Isidore again copies his predecessors, the astronomical treatise of Hyginus, Solinus, the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones*, Ambrose's *Hexaemeron*, Augustine, and some others. But here, as in his *Etymologiae*, it is sometimes doubtful whether Isidore's use of an author is direct or at second or third hand. The *De natura rerum* had a marked success, although the astronomical portions, judged from a scientific standpoint, compare unfavourably with Gregory of Tours' little-known treatise.¹ For general use, however, we may suspect that it was completely overshadowed by the relevant parts of his encyclopedic work. The *Etymologiae*, which the author did not live to revise, was edited and divided into twenty books or sections by Braulio. A list of these will give some notion of the all-embracing character of the work. The first three books are devoted to the seven liberal arts, namely, Grammar in Book I, Rhetoric and Dialectic in Book II, Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy in Book III. The contents of the remaining books are as follows : IV—Medicine ; V, 1-27—Law ; V, 28-39—Divisions of time and chronology ; VI—The books of the Bible and its interpreters ; canons, and ecclesiastical offices ; VII—God, the Angels and Saints ; VIII—The Church and the Sects ; IX—Languages, races, kingdoms, the army, citizens and kinship ; X—Etymological word-list arranged under the initial letter, but not in closer alphabetical order ; XI—Men and fabulous monsters ; XII—Animals ; XIII—The Universe and its parts ; XIV—The Earth and its parts ; XV—Buildings and lands ; XVI—Stones and metals ; XVII—Agriculture and botany ; XVIII—War, games, and pastimes ; XIX—Ships, building materials, dress ; XX—Food and drink ; furniture.

It is easy to sneer at the *Etymologiae* and to point to single items in the book which strike a modern reader as puerile.

¹ See below, p. 99.

But it was assuredly no small achievement to put together a compendious encyclopedia of the arts and sciences from many sources, at a time when the larger works of earlier authors on different branches of human knowledge were accessible in few places, and when few men, in any case, would have been capable of studying them. The fact that Isidore's approach is linguistic, and that he generally introduces each item with an etymological explanation that is only too often fanciful, if not absurd, has tended to obscure the substantial merits and accuracy of much of his information. A great deal has been written in recent years on Isidore's plan and method of composition and on his sources; yet it must be admitted that some uncertainty still exists both about the one and the other; and it is often easier to be certain of what Isidore did not do than of what he did do.¹ Since many items in the *Etymologiae* are found in substantially the same form in other Isidorian works, notably scientific information appearing both in the *De natura rerum* and in Books III, V, and XIII of the encyclopedia, it may be assumed that the author had formed a large collection of excerpts grouped under their appropriate headings, even as a modern compiler might devote his earlier labours to the construction of a card index. The sources on which Isidore drew were very numerous, but he rarely indicates them by name. Where he cites an author verbally, giving also his name, the quotation is, more often than not, taken from an intermediate source. In short, the sources on which he relied were for the most part relatively recent. The more important may here be enumerated. Patristic literature is represented by Tertullian, Lactantius, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great, secular literature by Pliny, Solinus, Orosius, Servius's commentary on Vergil and other Vergilian *scholia*, Hyginus's *Astronomica* and the *scholia* on Germanicus's *Aratea*, Placidus, Donatus, Cassiodorus's *Institutiones saecularium lectionum*, and other writers on the *trivium*, Victorinus and Boethius's logical or scientific writings, Latin translations of Greek medical authors, and Gargilius Martialis, Palladius, and the Agrimensores on agriculture and kindred topics. As to the numerous citations

¹ A good example of this is the extensive use which Isidore is supposed to have made of various lost works by Suetonius. This hypothesis has been finally exploded by P. Wessner in his masterly article in *Hermes*, 52 (1917), pp. 201-92. Wessner's discussion, which at the beginning refers to various earlier dissertations on Isidore's sources, is exceedingly valuable for the source question as a whole.

from the poets and from Republican prose writers, while Isidore was familiar with some at first hand, like Vergil and Lucan, and perhaps Ovid, Juvenal, Martial, and Sallust, the rest, especially citations from early authors like Ennius, Plautus, the Roman writers of tragedy, Lucilius, and Cato, were copied by him from his sources.¹

The *Etymologiae* far surpassed all other works of Isidore in popularity during the centuries that followed. The book was a *sine qua non* in every monastic library of any pretensions.² Its use by a long list of writers from the seventh to the tenth centuries is easily demonstrable, while the number of extant manuscripts is exceedingly large.³

In conclusion mention must be made of a collection of twenty-seven brief poems—all save one are in elegiacs—whose Isidorian authorship there is no adequate reason for doubting. They were inscribed above the bookcases in the library at Seville and laud the various authors whose works were there preserved. Their only interest lies in the fact that they corroborate the evidence of Isidore's writings regarding the contents of the episcopal library at Seville, for they have no poetic merit. The lines on Augustine may serve as a specimen of the bishop's ability as a versifier: ⁴

Mentitur qui te totum legisse fatetur ;

Aut quis cuncta tua lector habere potest ?

Namque voluminibus mille, Augustine, refules ;

Testantur libri quod loquor ipse tui.

¹ A convenient conspectus of the quotations will be found at the end of Volume 2 of Lindsay's edition.

² The reader need only glance at the index of Becker's *Catalogus* or of Lehmann's *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekscataloge* I and II in order to see the popularity of all Isidore's works, and especially the *Etymologiae*, throughout the Middle Ages.

³ See especially the monograph by C. H. Beeson, *Isidorstudien* (QUPM., 4, 2 ; Munich, 1913). Beeson gives an approximately complete list of Isidore manuscripts, other than those written in Spain, down to the middle of the ninth century. No better proof of Isidore's immense popularity throughout Western Europe, and above all in France, can be furnished than by a perusal of Beeson's pages. The manuscripts of the *Etymologiae* and those containing extracts from that book are, of course, more numerous than those of any other writings.

⁴ These poems were last edited and fully discussed by Beeson, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-66. The poem on Augustine is No. 6, and may be rendered thus : ' He lies who vows that he has read thee entire. What reader can possess all thy works ? Thy lustre, Augustine, is reflected from a thousand tomes. The books are witness to my words. Though many be here to please thee by their writings, reader, if Augustine be at hand, he is enough for thee.'

Quamvis multorum placeant praesentia libris,
Si Augustinus adest, sufficit ipse tibi.

At the death of Clovis (511) the kingdom of the Franks embraced all Gaul from the Rhine to the Pyrenees save Provence and Septimania in the south-east. Owing to the Frankish practice of dividing the kingdom on the death of the ruler equally amongst his sons the unity of Gaul was at once weakened. The rivalry and individual ambitions of the sons and grandsons of Clovis plunged the country into unceasing warfare. After the death of three of the sons, the realm, which since 537 had been enlarged by the addition of Provence, was once more united under the sway of a single monarch, Lothar I, for sixteen years (545-561). But then his dominions were divided into four parts among his sons, so that the evils of civil war which had ensued upon the death of Clovis burst upon the land with redoubled force.

The contrast between toleration or even approval of pagan literature and the unqualified condemnation of it, which has already been noted in sixth-century Italy, is well illustrated in contemporary Gaul by the cases of Avitus, bishop of Vienne (c. 450-518), and Caesarius, bishop of Arles (c. 470-543). The former, it is true, proved his staunch orthodoxy not only by his deeds but in treatises directed against the Eutychian and Arian heresies. Yet a thorough training in the type of rhetoric admired in his day produced a notably artificial style, while his poetry—a poem in praise of virginity and a lengthy versification in five books of certain portions of *Genesis*—betrays intimate familiarity with Vergil.¹ Caesarius's attitude, on the other hand, is mirrored in the story related by his biographer. When the youth Caesarius had on the advice of friends begun to study with a noted African *rhetor*, he had, even like Jerome, a vivid dream which caused him to desist from these studies and devote himself entirely to religion and ascetic practices.² Later, as bishop, he worked indefatigably for the spiritual welfare of clergy and laity alike. His own disciples found in him a teacher of wonderful power who sedulously urged them to ask questions.

I know you do not understand all; why do you not ask that you may comprehend? Cows do not always run to their calves, but at times the calves hasten to the cows, so that they can appease their hunger at the mother's udders.³

¹ For Avitus's works see MGH.AA., VI, 2.

² Life of Caesarius in MGH. Script. Merov., III, p. 460, 13 ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 477, 14 ff.

But Caesarius's greatest success was as a preacher. As such his influence was important and profound, even as was that of Gregory the Great in Italy fifty years later. The number of illiterate and quasi-illiterate persons was by this time so great that an able preacher could and did become the real teacher of his flock.¹ Caesarius, who also made the laity in church join in singing hymns and psalms, so that they should not indulge in idle chatter during the service,² wrote sermons which were popular in the best sense of the word. Steeped in Augustinian theology, he did not hesitate to borrow freely from this and other Latin Fathers; but he adapted and simplified his material so that it could be assimilated by the least cultured of his hearers.

The case of Desiderius, bishop of Vienne, who incurred the displeasure of Gregory I, shows how even in the second half of the sixth century there were prelates who in their love of secular authors followed the example of an Avitus or a Sidonius.³ In the same period Gaul could boast of two writers of major significance, Fortunatus and Gregory of Tours.

Fortunatus was, as we saw, a product of the Italian schools, having received his education at Ravenna, including some training in law. In 565, when he was a little past thirty, he left his native land to visit the tomb of St. Martin at Tours and to seek his fortune in a foreign country. His journey appears to have lasted nearly two years, since he travelled in leisurely fashion by way of the Upper Danube and the Rhine, visiting Mayence, Cologne, Metz, Verdun, Rheims, and Paris, before finally reaching Tours. An agreeable manner, coupled with a remarkable facility in inditing occasional verse in honour of the great ones of the earth, procured him a friendly reception wherever he fared. In 567 he ended his

¹ Direct information about schools and education in sixth-century Gaul is almost entirely lacking. From the examples given in the text it will be seen that the liberal arts continued to be cultivated by a small minority. In the monasteries studies were wholly theological, as was the training of lectors and clergy in the bishop's household, the earliest form of the cathedral school (cf. for this the Second Council of Toledo in Mansi, VIII, 726—boys intended for orders are to be educated 'in domo ecclesiae, sub episcopali praesentia'). The Council of Vaison in 529 approved of priests in country districts taking in and training young lectors. The purpose was, of course, to ensure a sufficient supply of priests. Cf. Mansi, VIII, 726.

² MGH. Script. Merov., III, p. 463, 29 ff.

³ His biographer, the Visigothic king Sisebut (612–620), describes him as 'plenissime grammatica edocatus' (MGH. Script. Merov., III, p. 630, 13).

travels at Poitiers. Here he passed the next twenty years of his life as the friend and adviser of St. Rhadegund, the widowed queen of Lothar I, whose austere life in the nunnery to which she had retired and whose piety and good works were famous throughout Gaul, and of her foster daughter, the young abbess Agnes. At some time during these years Fortunatus took orders. In 587, after St. Rhadegund's death, he again travelled for a spell. The latest of his poems that can be dated was composed in honour of a new bishop of Poitiers, Plato, who was consecrated in 591. On the decease of this prelate Fortunatus succeeded to the bishopric. He appears to have survived into the early years of the next century. Fortunatus was a prolific writer. His prose works, which include a life of St. Rhadegund and biographies of several other saints, are negligible as literature. His reputation as a man of letters rests wholly on his verse. His eleven books of poems exhibit a marvellous variety in their subject matter.¹ There are complimentary poems, panegyrics on lords temporal and spiritual, epitaphs, epithalamia, letters in verse, and, in addition, a great number of less stately compositions, abounding in pleasing descriptions of scenery and affording many glimpses of the social life of his time. Save in a very few cases the poet used the elegiac couplet as the vehicle of his muse. His one long poem, a life of St. Martin of Tours, running to more than two thousand lines, is composed in hexameters. Of the ten hymns which have come down to us under his name three are certainly genuine. Two of these were included in the Roman Breviary not long after the poet's death, namely that beginning *Pange lingua gloriosi* in trochaic tetrameters, and that written in iambic dimeters, *Vexilla regis prodeunt*.² These and the *Agnoscat omne saeculum* have since been familiar to thousands to whom Fortunatus's other poems are wholly unknown. For their genuine feeling, expressed in simple but melodious diction, they deserve to be set side by side with the hymns of Ambrose. Modern estimates of Fortunatus's verse—apart from the universally admired hymns—have differed widely, the unfavourable predominating. Judged in bulk, and divorced from the time and circumstances in which it was written, it will assuredly

¹ For his works see MGH.AA., IV. Books I to VIII of the poetry were published c. 576 and Book IX eight years later. The last two books were seemingly published posthumously.

² The three hymns in the collected edition of the poems are II, 2 ; II, 7, and I, 16.

not rank very high in the poetical literature of the world. But in the age in which he lived it is difficult to say which was more remarkable, Fortunatus's poetry or the appreciation with which it was received by princes and nobles whose manly qualities were undeniable, but to whom artistic and intellectual tastes have commonly been denied. A greater poet would have failed to win a hearing in Merovingian society. But the facile troubadour,¹ who in correct and often elegant verse, and in language which was pointed, witty, and singularly free from the bombast and mannerisms of the schools, and often with a real sense for beauty or with a genuine note of pathos, could improvise his pieces for the most divers occasions, correctly gauging the tastes and mentality of his audience, won a great reputation in his lifetime and still deserves his meed of praise for having kept some appreciation of literature alive in an all but illiterate age.

It is to Fortunatus's great contemporary that we primarily owe our knowledge of the earlier period of Merovingian history. Georgius Florentius, who was born in Auvergne in 538, was descended from an old patrician, Gallo-Roman stock. Ancestors and relatives on both sides of his family had been princes of the Church. He himself adopted the name of Gregory in memory of his maternal great-grandfather, Gregory, bishop of Langres, and was in due course ordained deacon (c. 563?). In 573, on the death of his cousin Eufronius, he was chosen bishop of Tours, a see which he occupied till his death in 594.² His education, which was as good as could at that time be acquired in Gaul, was, judged by earlier standards, modest enough. Of secular authors the only one with whom he shows considerable familiarity is Vergil.³ His two references to Sallust's *Catiline* are doubtless reminiscences of an ever-popular school-text.⁴ The manner in which he speaks of Martianus Capella leaves no room for doubt that he knew the standard treatise on the seven liberal arts, even if he had not studied it profoundly.⁵ Other isolated allusions to

¹ 'Une vie de troubadour errante' Labriolle (*op. cit.*, p. 653) happily calls Fortunatus's career.

² His pride in his ancestry is illustrated by his comment on the boast of Riculf (*Hist. Franc.*, V, 49): 'the wretch was ignorant that all the bishops but five who held the see of Tours were connected with my family'.

³ G. Kurth, *Études franques*, I, pp. 15-20, gives many instances of Vergilian phrases and tags, other than quotations, in Gregory's works.

⁴ *Hist. Franc.* (MGH. Script. Merov., I), IV, 8 and VII, 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, X, 31.

pagan authors do not prove that he was really familiar with them. He himself in more than one place laments or apologizes for his rustic speech.¹ One can but be grateful that he chose to write in the vernacular Latin of his day in preference to affecting the tortured 'literary' language, which was so popular in Gaul and elsewhere with the generations immediately preceding his own. The least known of all his works, the short essay entitled *De cursibus ecclesiasticis*, has a twofold interest: it shows that Gregory had some knowledge of the subjects of the *quadrivium*, and it gives some indication of the extent of scientific knowledge in his day. The book was written to provide the clergy with such astronomical information as would help them to tell the time at night by correct observation of the constellations and thus enable them all through the year to perform the night offices at the proper hour. The introductory chapters enumerate with short descriptions seven wonders of the world worked by the hand of man, and seven wonders worked by God.² From this he passes to his main subject, which is to describe the commoner stars and constellations together with the usual time of their rising and setting.³ Instead of giving them their usual classical names he explains their appearance in terms which would be intelligible to those not familiar with classical mythology. He then gives instructions applying this astronomical lore to the practical purpose for which the pamphlet was written. It must have been a very serviceable manual, and its scientific good sense fills us with respect for its author. Gregory's knowledge of the Bible was respectable.⁴ He had also read extensively in Latin hagiographical literature. While he had acquired a good grasp of the canons of the Church, there is nothing to prove his familiarity with the great theologians

¹ *Ibid.*, preface; *ibid.*, X, 31; *Glor. confess.*, preface.

² The seven man-made wonders are: Noah's ark, Babylon, Solomon's temple, 'tomb of a Persian king' (presumably the Mausoleum), the colossus at Rhodes, the theatre at Heraclea, the pharus at Alexandria. The seven divine wonders are: the tides, the growth of plants, the phoenix, Etna, the hot springs at St. Barthélémy near Grenoble, the course of the sun, and the phases of the moon. This treatise will be found in MGH. Script. Merov., VII.

³ Thus we find descriptions of the following: Arcturus, Corona, Lyra, Cygnus, Delphinus, Aquila, Auriga with Capella and the Kids, Gemini, Pleiades, Hyades, Canis major and minor, Orion, Ursa major. For further details cf. the notes of the German astronomer Galle in Krusch's edition of the treatise (MGH. Script. Merov., VII).

⁴ His Biblical quotations often diverge from the Vulgate text, showing that he also used one or more of the older Latin versions.

of the third and fourth centuries. The early parts of his chief work are based on Rufinus's translation of Eusebius, Jerome's *Chronicle*, and Orosius. The plan of his *History of the Franks* is as follows: Books I and II are introductory to the main work, giving a brief sketch of events from the creation of the world to A.D. 511. The next two narrate the history of the Frankish kingdom to c. 573. The remainder, Books V to X, depict in far greater detail the years 573 to 591, during which Gregory was himself premier bishop in Gaul and thereby one of the outstanding figures in the political and ecclesiastical world. One must comprehend certain characteristics of the man to estimate him rightly as a writer and to explain the excellence of his work. In the first place, though he is extremely proud of his descent, he betrays no contempt or dislike for the Frankish conquerors of Gaul. In the Gaul of his day the older Gallo-Roman and the more recent Teutonic elements of society have been fused and there is none of the opposition and animosity between two racial and cultural groups which was so marked in the world of Sidonius. In the second place, Gregory was staunchly orthodox. Kindly and generous as he unconsciously reveals himself in the *History* to have been, he is ready to believe the worst of any heretic. His hatred of Arians was especially intense. He records long conversations with heretics and with a Jew; but modern readers will hardly be as convinced that Gregory had the best of the argument as he himself was.¹ His preposterous account of Theodoric and the Ostrogoths in Italy was doubtless due not merely, as Kurth suggests, to ignorance and insufficient sources, but to religious animosity.² His piety and faith were boundless; at the same time the quality of his faith, while eminently characteristic of his time, was of a kind which in the present age it is not easy to understand.³ His unquestioning belief in miracles and in the wonder-working powers of saints and relics, which is manifested in almost every page of his *History*, has even fuller scope in his other writings, a life of St. Martin of Tours, a life of St. Julian of

¹ Cf. *Hist. Franc.*, V, 31 (43); VI, 5; VI, 26 (40).

² See *Études franques*, II, 168. Yet in the case of the Visigoths who also belonged to the hated sect, Gregory's information is, as a rule, accurate. It shows that when he was able to acquire fuller knowledge of historical data, his innate love of truth could triumph over religious prejudice.

³ Cf. the admirable remarks of S. Dill, *Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age* (London, 1926), pp. 394-438.

Brioude, and three other hagiographical books.¹ It is one of Gregory's greatest merits that he is very careful, when recording the history of his own times, to give precise information and to acquaint his readers with his sources, where he is indebted to others for the statements in his narrative. This care he also shows, like Gregory the Great in his *Dialogues*, when he is the chronicler of miraculous events. Some, like certain miracles at the tomb of St. Médard or performed by St. Martin at Tours, were witnessed by Gregory himself. Others he learnt from reliable informants. A deaf and dumb man, who had been cured by the anchorite Hospicius, gave the bishop a long account of the life and marvellous powers of that strange man.² Other valued informants were Tatto, who had been cured by the saintly Aredius, and Vulfolaic who had much to relate of the wonders of St. Martin.³ Often Gregory introduces lists of portents which occurred in a given year, a procedure which somewhat recalls the practice of the great pagan historian of Rome.⁴ That swindlers tried to impose on the people in an age when the miraculous was constantly expected is not surprising. On such quacks Gregory passes severe judgement; ⁵ when found out they were liable to receive short shrift. Where the issue was not serious, the bishop was merely contemptuous, as in his answer to Guntram Boso who believed what a certain prophetess told him :

I laughed at his folly and said : ' Of God alone are these things to be obtained ; the promises of the Evil One may not be believed.' When he had withdrawn in much confusion, I laughed heartily at this man who deemed such tales worthy of belief.⁶

Though free from personal vanity, Gregory had a very high conception of the importance of the episcopal office. The justified conviction that the Church and its leaders both as a political and a cultural force were of vital moment to

¹ Gregory refers to the four books of the life of St. Martin, the life of St. Julian, the *Liber in gloria martyrum beatorum*, and the *Liber in gloria confessorum* as his seven books of miracles. To these must be added the *Vitae Patrum*. All these works will be found in MGH. Script. Merov., I. Lastly there is the Miracles of St. Andrew, a genuine work though not named by Gregory.

² *Hist. Franc.*, VI, 6.

³ *ibid.*, X, 29 and VIII, 16.

⁴ *E.g.*, V, 30 (41) ; VI, 8 (14) ; VI, 14 (21) ; VI, 31 (44) ; IX, 5. The lists of portents in Livy are to be found especially in the books of the third decade.

⁵ *Hist. Franc.*, IX, 6.

⁶ *ibid.*, V, 8 (14) in O. M. Dalton's translation.

the Frankish kingdom, is an ever-present thought in the *History*, which knits together and gives a certain unity to a work which is otherwise discursive, 'eepisodic', and chronologically somewhat confused. The deeper-lying causes of political events, the growth of institutions, the difficulties attendant on the fusion of Gallo-Roman with Frankish custom and law, Gregory comprehended very imperfectly. He is a truthful chronicler with a strong dramatic sense and much knowledge of men, but not a philosophic nor even a dispassionate historian. His insistence on the reality and frequency of miracles, not merely in the *History* but still more in his other works, made Gregory one of the most influential writers for the development of hagiography in the West. 'He is the precursor of a great effort of systematic hagiography which extended roughly from the sixth to the tenth century.'¹ Thus he gave to the Middle Ages some of the best examples of a type of literature at once edifying and readable, because it satisfied the common human love for a good story and at the same time took men's thoughts away for a spell from the violence and sordid reality of their mundane existence. To the modern reader Gregory appeals primarily because of his dramatic quality and because he is most successful with the biographical part of history. Many of his portraits and pen pictures are unforgettable. Chilperic, morally the worst of the sons of Lothar I, and one of the few major characters in the *History* whom Gregory roundly condemns,² is brought before us as the very personification of treachery and cruelty. Yet, like Nero to whom the historian compares him, he had a fondness for literature and tried his own hand at poetry, even hymns, which were perhaps not quite so contemptible as Gregory suggests. Like another Roman emperor, Claudius, he ventured into the field of philology, giving orders that four new letters be added to the alphabet to represent the sounds, long o, ae, th, and w, and that the innovation be taught to the young and the needful alterations be made in all books.³ His brother, Guntram, is a no less living personage in the *History*. In spite of sudden fits of passion and occasional outbursts of cruelty, he was a more amiable monarch and more easily appeased. It may be that Gregory, who was on very friendly terms with this king, in his portrait errs on the side of partiality. The Queen, Fredegund, who in a ruthless age surpassed all her contemporaries

¹ S. Dill, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

² *Hist. Franc.*, VI, 33 (46).

³ *ibid.*, V, 32 (44).

of either sex in pitiless ferocity, who used to give her emissaries of death a potion to hearten them for their fell work¹ and tried to break her own daughter's neck by forcing down on it the lid of a large chest,² is shown by Gregory to have had on rare occasions a softer side to her nature. On the death of a son even this tigress had human feelings.

The queen now took and burned all the valuable things that had belonged to her dead boy, precious objects and garments of silk and furs; it is said that they filled four carts. The gold and silver was melted down and so kept, that nothing might remain intact to recall the days of her mourning for her son.³

A host of minor characters, all equally real, people Gregory's book, while his powers as a narrator are seen at their best in the story of his ancestor, Attalus's flight from serfdom,⁴ in the account of the career of Leudast,⁵ or in the description of the siege of Convenae and the death of its defender, Gundovald.⁶ When Fortunatus, who was on the friendliest terms with his great contemporary and addressed many graceful poems to him, once saluted him as *lumen generale*,⁷ he spoke the unvarnished truth. For no one acquainted with the bishop's works, and with his *History* first and foremost, can fail to realize that Gregory is a figure unique in the Merovingian age. The works of Gregory are not listed in many of the earlier library catalogues (down to and including the tenth century).⁸ But the fact that the *History* was used by a number of later chroniclers, for instance, the so-called Fredegarius and Paul the Deacon, and that the number of extant manuscripts of early date is considerable, is sufficient proof that so remarkable a book was far from being neglected.⁹

¹ *ibid.*, VIII, 29. Fredegund's procedure has a close parallel in the methods of the famous 'Old Man of the Mountain' and his no less famous emissaries, the Assassins, a western corruption of Hashishin, that being the drug which they were given. Cf. E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 2 (London, 1906), pp. 204-11.

² *Hist. Franc.*, IX, 34.

³ *ibid.*, VI, 25 (35).

⁴ *ibid.*, III, 15.

⁵ *ibid.*, V, 32 (48).

⁶ *ibid.*, VII, 34-8.

⁷ Book VIII, 14. In the next poem he is called *celsum et generale cacumen*.

⁸ For example at Reichenau (Lehmann, *Bibl.*, I, 248, 4) and at St. Riquier (Becker, *Cat.* No. 11, 117) in the ninth century. The tenth-century catalogue at Lorsch (Becker, *Cat.* No. 37, 87) also lists a copy; but the extant manuscript, Pal. lat. 966, in the Vatican library, written c. 791, is a book of Lorsch. See W. M. Lindsay, *Palaeographia latina*, IV, 29.

⁹ For a list of manuscripts of the *History* see MGH. Script. Merov., I, and for those of the hagiographical writings *ibid.*, and VII, Appendix,

CHAPTER V

IRISH AND ENGLISH SCHOLARS AND MISSIONARIES TO THE DEATH OF BEDE

WHILE during the seventh century the continent of Western Europe was withered by a blight of intellectual sterility, a fresh and vigorous growth of culture was maturing in Ireland and Britain. The earlier history of Christianity in those islands is extremely obscure. Traditions of later date seem to imply that in Britain Christianity was fairly established by A.D. 200, but the first clear piece of evidence is the undoubted presence of three British bishops at the Council of Arles in 314. Again, in 359, at the Council of Rimini the British Church was represented by several prelates. From this it is apparent that during the third century, at any rate, the new faith had made considerable headway in the most northerly of the Roman provinces. Christian inscriptions found in Britain are notoriously few in number; nor do any appear to be earlier than the fourth century. Furthermore, it is impossible to determine how far Christianity was confined to the thoroughly Romanized portions of the province and how far the native population abandoned its old religious practices in favour of it. It is probable, moreover, that the work of conversion had been chiefly carried out from Gaul; and in the fifth century, when the heads of the British Church were much disturbed at the growth of the Pelagian heresy in the island, it was from Gaul that they obtained help to combat it. Two Gallican bishops, Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes, visited Britain in 529, but their orthodox teaching seems to have been only temporarily effective. In 547 Germanus returned, accompanied on this occasion by Severus of Trèves. Britain had, however, long since ceased to be a Roman province, and during the second half of the century the progress of the Germanic invaders in the West and South-West was rapid. The picture of Church and society in sixth-century Britain drawn by Gildas (c. 500-570) is one of unrelieved gloom. His *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae* is really composed of two parts. The first is a sketch of British history during

and after the Roman occupation, while the second bewails the corruption and demoralization of temporal and spiritual rulers, and of the people of the island. In the absence of other evidence—for Bede, when he deals with this period of British history, merely copies his predecessor—it is impossible to determine the accuracy of Gildas's description. It may be remarked that he in his own person affords proof that the older culture, though not wholly destroyed, was moribund. His style and language are pretentious and clumsy. His sources were mainly oral, but he shows some acquaintance with Jerome's *Chronicle* and *Letters*, Orosius, and Rufinus's *Ecclesiastical History*. He cites Vergil incorrectly several times; his allusions to other pagan poets are more doubtful. In short, we are left with the impression that his knowledge of earlier authors was slight, and that such training in the arts as he had received was not of a high order. Further testimony to a survival of secular learning in south-western Britain is perhaps provided by the so-called *Hisperica Famina*. The longest version of this strange example of perverted ingenuity consists of 612 rhythmic lines couched in a language of studied obscurity. For the vocabulary is made up predominantly of rare, and in some cases it would seem of invented, words, together with a sprinkling of Greek vocables. Portions of two other versions also exist, and, in addition, a glossary of Hisperic words. The contents stamp it the product of a school, the variant versions being most readily explained if we suppose that different pupils were all given the same vocabulary or material to use, and utilizing this were set to describe the different occupations during the day of a young monastic scholar, articles of daily use, the wooden church, features of the landscape, like the sky and sea, and other topics or short tales. Besides this there are several shorter poems, of which the best known is the *Lorica*, whose vocabulary is similar in character.¹

¹ It has not seemed worth while to consider these literary curiosities at greater length, since their only interest save to specialists in language lies, as we have said, in the evidence they afford for a lingering interest in education during an illiterate age. The *Hisperica Famina* and the other poems have been well edited by F. H. Jenkinson (Cambridge, 1908). Jenkinson and some other scholars have held that the *Hisperica Famina* originated in Ireland. For further information on the whole question cf., besides Jenkinson's book, Roger, pp. 239 ff., and Manitius, I, pp. 156-8. For the *Lorica*, which some have on very slight evidence attributed to Gildas, see also C. Singer, *From Magic to Science* (London, 1928), pp. 111-32.

Ireland had never formed a part of the Roman Empire. The date at which the first converts to Christianity were made there cannot be determined. But, when Patrick began his missionary labours there (c. 432 ?), there were already some Christians in southern Ireland. That earliest work of conversion is perhaps more likely to have been carried out from Wales than from Gaul. The extent and success of Patrick's mission have been very variously estimated. With the exception of two short works, which may be accepted as genuinely his, contemporary evidence for his life is lacking. The so-called *Confessio* is more properly speaking a defence of his career, while the letter addressed to a chief, Caroticus, is a strong expostulation at the massacre by Caroticus and some of his retainers of a number of Christian converts. Caroticus, however, was not in Ireland at all, but most probably a ruler of the Strathclyde Britons. The *Confessio* is composed in barbarous Latin, showing that Patrick's mastery over the language of the Church was very imperfect. It abounds in Biblical citations, principally from the New Testament, but otherwise demonstrates that Patrick had not attained to any considerable degree of literary culture. Neither of these compositions lends support to the view that the greater part of the island was converted by him, nor yet that an elaborately organized Church existed there. On the contrary, Patrick's own words are very significant :

I confess that I have been appointed a bishop in Ireland. Most assuredly I deem that I have received from God what I am. And so I dwell in the midst of barbarous heathen, a stranger and exile for the love of God.¹

It seems likely, therefore, that Patrick's pre-eminent position as a saint and as the apostle of Ireland must be attributed to the zeal of Irish hagiographers in the eighth and following centuries.

Whatever the condition of the Church in Ireland may have been on Patrick's death (461 ?), there is no doubt that in the following century numerous monasteries had come into existence in various parts of the country—Killeany in the far west ; Clonard in County Meath and Clonmacnois on the Shannon ; Derry, Durrow, Moville, and Bangor in the north

¹ Text and translation of both of Patrick's works by N. J. D. White in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 25 (1904-05), pp. 201-326 ; cf. also pp. 542-52. In *Confessio*, 50, however, Patrick speaks of having baptized so many thousands of men and ordained clergy everywhere.

and north-east, and others of less note. This development was largely due to influences from southern and south-western Gaul. The Irish Church developed undisturbed by foreign invaders and was marked by characteristic features both in organization and in observance. It was a monastic Church whose arrangement was adapted to the existing social and political conditions. In a country where no towns existed and society was divided into a great number of clans, the monastery became the religious and educational centre of the clan. The abbot was elected by the clan and the upkeep of the monastery likewise was the concern of the clansmen. In return the spiritual care of the social group, lay as well as religious, was undertaken by the abbot and his monks. The abbot, who sometimes held the ecclesiastical rank of bishop, sometimes only that of priest, was the spiritual head of the whole community. It followed that there was as yet no diocesan organization. The duties of bishops who were not also abbots were purely ceremonial and liturgical; no central direction knitted together the numerous groups. In matters of observance the points of difference from the other Western Churches were the different reckoning of the Easter celebration, the tonsure from ear to ear, the consecration of a bishop by a single bishop, and a number of liturgical variations, for example, in the Mass and the baptismal rite. It is beyond dispute that from the sixth century the Irish monasteries were seats of learning of a high order, both theological and secular, and that for three centuries they produced a series of remarkable men who exerted a profound influence on thought and letters in Western Europe, even though we can no longer discern the earlier stages of this conspicuous intellectual growth. Manuscripts of the Bible, of theological and liturgical works, and, in a less measure, of the writings of secular authors had been brought into the country during the fifth and sixth centuries. These must have been written in half-uncial script—a circumstance pointing strongly to connexion with Southern and Western Gaul—since it was the half-uncial which the Irish scribes adopted and modified until they had evolved a characteristic hand of their own. Whereas the Irish half-uncial was long used for the more costly *codices*, which the Irish also learnt to illuminate with exemplary skill, there was also developed an Irish minuscule script for copying less valuable works. In time this became a national script which, having become fixed in the twelfth century, has survived with some modifications to the present day. Extant works

written in Latin by Irish scholars of the sixth century are exceedingly scanty. Moreover, it must be remembered that the Irish vernacular was never ousted either as the medium for common speech or for written composition. Hence Latin even to the Irish monks was a book language laboriously acquired. Surviving Latin manuscripts frequently demonstrate the fact that they were written by Irishmen not merely by the script but by the presence of glosses written in the vernacular. Belonging to the sixth century are the Penitential of Bishop Finnian of Moville (died 589) and some Latin hymns attributed to various authors.¹

But the characteristic of Irish monks at this time which had the most profound influence on the development of European culture was their zeal for missionary work. According to a reasonable tradition,² the first efforts at converting the Picts and the Britons of Galloway and Strathclyde were made by Ninian soon after 400. The evidence of St. Patrick's letter, however, points to the fact that the inhabitants of those regions had soon relapsed again into heathenism. A more permanent work of conversion was effected by the Irish Columba (Colum-cille). When he crossed over to Scotland c. 565, and, receiving the island of Iona (Hy) from a native chief, founded his famous monastery there, some of the islands and the adjacent coastal strips had already been settled by *Scotti* from Ireland.³ The work of conversion amongst the northern and, somewhat later, amongst the southern Picts progressed rapidly. Many monastic settlements were made but, in marked contrast to the Irish system at home, where each monastery was independent and self-governing, the religious houses in Caledonia were all, as it were, colonies of Iona, and its abbot wielded authority similar to that of a metropolitan over all monasteries, churches, and clerics of every degree.

While the Irish missionary work was thus prospering in Scotland, a body of Irish monks, twelve in number, led by Columban (c. 530-615) made their way across the water to Brittany and thence into Burgundia, where they seem to have arrived

¹ Text of the Penitential in H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisziplin der Kirche* (Mayence, 1883), pp. 502-9. For the hymns of the sixth and following centuries cf. *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, being vols. 13 and 14 of the Publications of the H. Bradshaw Society. For the names of various authors see M. Esposito in *Hermathena*, 14 (1906-07), pp. 519-29 and 15 (1908-09), pp. 353-64.

² Bede, *Hist. eccles.*, 3, 4.

³ *Scottus* or *Scotus* always means Irish in the early Middle Ages.

c. 590. Granted land by King Guntram, the pilgrims founded a monastery at Anegray in the Vosges. With a passionate desire for spreading the Christian religion in heathen lands, Columban and his companions combined a rigid asceticism, which not only regulated their own lives but filled them with the wish to reform the abuses and moral laxity apparent to them in Merovingian Gaul. Disciples flocked to the new religious centre in such numbers that two further abbeys were settled by the Irish within a few years, at Luxeuil and at Fontaines. The queen, Brunhild, is generally made responsible for Columban's ultimate expulsion from Burgundy, because of his uncompromising condemnation of court life.¹ But it must not be forgotten that there was a strong contributory cause, the hostility which the Irish saint and missionary aroused by refusing to compromise with the Church leaders in Gaul either in the matter of observance or of discipline, or to acknowledge the authority of the Frankish bishops over his monasteries. After some stay in Austrasia, where he was joined by fugitive monks from Luxeuil, and in Alemannia, Columban finally found his way into northern Italy. There with the permission of the Lombard ruler he founded a new monastery at Bobbio near the river Trebbia and close to the northern end of the Apennines (c. 614). In the following year he died. One of his disciples, Gallus, whom he had left behind in Alemannia, c. 613, took up his abode with one or two companions in a small hermitage situated in the Alps of north-eastern Switzerland. So simple were the beginnings of the monastery of St. Gall which was to become one of the most famous of mediaeval abbeys.

Whereas the only writings by the founder of Iona are some hymns, of which the most famous is the *altus prosator*,² the literary output of Columban, in spite of his tireless life as a missionary and organizer, was considerable, although only a portion has survived. Thus, dogmatic or polemical treatises on the paschal question, on the Arian heresy, and on the Three Chapters are lost. Of his six letters³ that addressed to Gregory the Great is of special interest. For in it Columban defends the Irish manner of reckoning of Easter in a manner at once respectful and firmly independent. The same inde-

¹ So, for example, by L. Gougaud, *Les chrétientés celtiques* (Paris, 1911), p. 146.

² See *Irish Liber Hymnorum*, I, pp. 66-81; English translation, *ibid.*, II, pp. 150-3.

³ See MGH. Epist., III, pp. 154 ff.

pendent spirit breathes in a later letter, on the Three Chapters, addressed to Pope Boniface. His authorship of a collection of verses of ethical content is probable.¹ They display him not indeed as himself a notable poet, but as a man having a good knowledge of several poets, particularly Vergil. His other extant writings may be regarded as the direct outcome of his work as an abbot and religious reformer and ascetic. They are: a short penitential which adds little to the *Penitential* of Finnian, four brief addresses to monks, and a monastic rule. The last named falls into two parts. The first portion is a rule properly so called, instructing his monks on ten topics in as many chapters, to wit, obedience, silence, food and drink, poverty, vanity, chastity, religious duties, discretion, mortification, and monastic perfection. The second part—*regula coenobialis patrum*—gives with much detail the mortifications and punishments for various offences. It contains clauses applicable to laymen as well as those intended specifically for monks. The distinguishing feature of Columban's ordinances and of his ethical teaching is their extreme rigour, manifested both in the exceptionally self-denying life which he advocates and in the severity of the punishments which he imposes, amongst which flagellation has a foremost place.² Although Columban himself was forced to leave Burgundy, the influence of twenty years' work there and of his disciplinary writings was profound. Not only those Irish who remained behind but many converts, amongst them not a few of the Frankish nobility, successfully propagated the ascetic ideals of Luxeuil. New monasteries were founded on the Irish model. Monks of Luxeuil were installed as abbots in existing houses or in new foundations which were not actually the work of the *Scotti*. Thus the first abbot of Corbie, founded in the middle of the seventh century, came from Columban's foundation. Again the *Rule* of Columban was followed in some communities jointly with the Benedictine.

¹ See MGH.PL., I. His biographer, Jonas, credits him with an early work, a commentary on Psalms. It is not impossible that this book is identical with the later of two Latin translations of Theodore of Mopsuestia's commentary. In that case Columban, like other of his countrymen at different times, had some knowledge of Greek. On the whole question see J. L. Ramsay in *Zeitschrift für keltische Philologie*, 8 (1912), pp. 421-51, especially 446 ff.

² These prose works have all been well edited by Seebass in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, namely: addresses to monks, vol. 14 (1894), pp. 76-92; penitential, *ibid.*, pp. 430-48; the two parts of the *Rule*, vol. 15 (1895), pp. 366-86 and vol. 17 (1897), pp. 215-34.

The literary output of the seventh century was small throughout western Europe, but there is enough to show that the Irish kept up the tradition of learning. For, apart from the works of the English Aldhelm, the most interesting treatises of this age are by two Irish scholars. The short *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*, by an unknown writer, was composed in Ireland between 630 and 700. It begins abruptly.

Twelve are the abuses of the age, that is: the scholar without works, the old man without religion, the young man without obedience, the rich man who giveth not alms, the woman without modesty, the master without virtue, the contentious Christian, the proud poor man, the unjust king, the negligent bishop, the common folk without discipline, the people without law.¹

A section is then devoted to each of these in turn. The writer's style and treatment of his subject and the partly religious, partly ethical approach are best conveyed by actual quotation. The chapter on the unjust king is as follows:

The ninth class of perversion is the unjust king. He, whereas it hath behoved him to straighten unjust men, keepeth not in himself the dignity of his name. For the name of king rightly understood implieth this, that he fulfil over all subjects the duty of a ruler. Yet in what manner will he be able to amend others who amendeth not his own manners that they be not unjust? Inasmuch as in justice the king's throne is exalted and in truth is firmly set the governance of peoples. The justice of a king meaneth, to oppress no man unjustly by the exercise of power; to judge without favour of persons between this man and his neighbour; to defend strangers, wards, and widows; to restrain thieves, to chastise adulterers; not to exalt unjust men nor give sustenance to the shameless and to mummers; to destroy the godless from the earth; to bring death to the parricide and the perjurer; to protect churches; to cherish the poor with alms; to set just men over the affairs of the realm; to take as counsellors old men, wise and temperate; to give no countenance to the superstitions of wizards, soothsayers, and witches; to put off anger; to defend his country bravely and righteously against its adversaries; to trust in God in all things; to be not puffed up at prosperity; to bear patiently all adversities; to believe in God according to the Catholic Faith; not to suffer his sons to act impiously; to attend to prayers at the hours fixed; to taste no food before the proper hours. 'Woe to the land where the king is a child and whose nobles feast in the morning!' (Eccl-

¹ Text edited with a valuable introduction by S. Hellmann in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (ed. A. Harnack und C. Schmidt), ser. III, vol. 4 (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 1-62.

siasticus x. 16). Those be the qualities that in the present secure the prosperity of the realm and lead the king to the better heavenly realms.

He who doth not administer his realm according to this law verily suffereth many adversities of his governance. For on that account often the peace of peoples is broken and disturbances take their rise from within the realm; the fruits also of the earth are diminished and the enslavement of peoples is hastened on; many and divers sufferings mar the realm's prosperity; the deaths of relatives and children bring sadness; the invasions of enemies bring desolation on provinces far and wide; wild beasts rend the herds of cattle and flocks of sheep; hurricanes and stormy winters forbid the earth's fertility and the sea's good gifts, and at times the strokes of lightning burn up crops and the flowers of fruit trees and the vines. But above all the injustice of a king not merely maketh dim the face of his own governance, it darkeneth also his sons' and grandsons' that they inherit not the realm after him. For because of Solomon's sin the Lord scattered the realm of the house of Israel from the hands of his sons, and because of the justice of king David He left for ever a lamp from his seed in Jerusalem. Behold to them that see is clearly manifested the worth of a king's justice to the age. It meaneth the peace of peoples, the guardianship of a country, the defence of the common folk, the bulwark of the race, the care of afflictions, the joy of men, a calm atmosphere and a serene sea, the fertility of the earth, the comfort of the poor, inheritance of his sons, and for himself hope of future blessedness. Moreover the king must know that even as he hath been set up on the throne as the first of mankind, so, if he shall fail to act justly, he shall be assigned the first place in punishment. For, as many as are the sinners that he hath had beneath him in the present, he shall have over him by way of torment in that future punishment.

The writer shows familiarity with the Vulgate and with Isidore, and his work has many points of contact with an Irish collection of canons made in the seventh century, the compiler of which knew Gregory's *Pastoral Rule*, a number of pseudo-Augustinian homilies, and several of Jerome's Biblical commentaries. The Latinity of the treatise is correct and even graphic, although the careful balancing of the clauses and the recurrence of similar rhythmic endings produces a certain monotony. Moreover, this little tract deserves more notice than it has commonly received, not merely for its own merits, but because it enjoyed much popularity in the Carolingian age and after. Especially the section translated above, on the Unjust King, engaged the attention of those writers of the late eighth and of the ninth centuries—Kathvulf, Jonas

of Orléans, Sedulius⁹ Scotus, Hincmar—who themselves pondered on the theory of government and the relation of the temporal to the spiritual power, and wrote treatises on monarchic rule.

The other Irish author whose literary remains call for detailed consideration is Adamnan, abbot of Iona for twenty-five years (679–704). He appears to have been a native of Donegal who at an early age became a monk in Iona. He revisited Ireland three times, and on more than one occasion after 685 stayed at the court of his old pupil, the Northumbrian king, Aldfrith, to whom he also presented his *De locis sanctis*. This was a treatise on the holy places in Jerusalem and Palestine with a concluding portion on Constantinople.¹ Primarily it was based on the oral account which he had received from a Frankish bishop, Arculf, who had spent nine months in Jerusalem. But Adamnan was a critical writer who checked the statements of his informant by occasionally referring to Jerome, Hegesippus, Eucherius, or Sulpicius Severus.² The fact that Adamnan is principally recording what he had gleaned from Arculf in conversation—he also gives some plans from sketches made by the bishop on a wax tablet—gives the book a freshness which would doubtless be lacking in an account derived entirely from written sources. The bishop, although his chief attention was properly focused on the holy places and the numerous churches and relics which he beheld, also had an eye for scenery and for eastern life. Thus he gave Adamnan a vivid description of the crowds of men and beasts thronging the streets of Jerusalem on September 15 (*rectius* 13), when the camels, horses, donkeys, mules, and cattle produced an indescribable filth and stench in the city, which was cleansed away by a miraculous rain-storm on the day following.³ He noted that the only trees growing on the Mount of Olives were vines and olives, though wheat and barley also did well there.⁴ He observed that carts and carriages were rare in Judaea, where the bulk of the transport was carried by camels,⁵ or that the poor lived on locusts cooked in oil.⁶ The waters of the Jordan, being a different colour, can be clearly distinguished for some distance from those of the Dead Sea, after the stream has entered it.⁷ The orchards lying outside the city walls of Damascus delighted Arculf,⁸ and he was impressed by the fortifications of Con-

¹ Text by Geyer in CSEL., 39.

² Geyer, p. 277, 11–13.

³ *ibid.*, 225, 1 ff.

⁴ *ibid.*, 245, 17 ff.

⁵ *ibid.*, 263, 1 ff.

⁶ *ibid.*, 272, 13.

⁷ *ibid.*, 266, 18 ff.

⁸ *ibid.*, 276, 9 ff.

stantinople no less than by the story of their origin related to him by the inhabitants.¹

Adamnan's second work, the *Life of Columba*, is by general consent one of the finest examples of mediaeval hagiography. It is not, properly speaking, a biography at all, but a collection of the saint's prophetic utterances (Book I), his miracles (Book II), and the visions that appeared to him (Book III). The work thus belongs to the same *genre* as Gregory of Tours 'biographies' of Saint Julian of Brioude and Saint Martin of Tours. The sources for Adamnan's book are the precious traditions of their founder preserved orally by the monks of Iona. Adamnan's purpose was to leave an eloquent record of the sanctity and superhuman powers of Columba. His artistry as a narrator was such, however, that he also brings vividly before his readers the purely human characteristics of the saint. Columba was of handsome aspect and endowed with an exceptionally powerful voice.² He had much practical good sense which showed itself in day-by-day events and, we may add, was readily given a miraculous interpretation by his followers.³ He was filled with compassion for those suffering unjust treatment in the world,⁴ and for a woman in the extreme agonies of childbirth.⁵ He was broadminded enough, though regretful to do so, to relax a strict fast for the sake of a visiting stranger.⁶ He shrewdly distinguishes the generous giver from the miser who was presumably shamed into giving.⁷ Lastly his kindness to dumb creatures is shown by the moving tale of the white horse which came to take a last leave of his master shortly before Columba's death.⁸

These two works by Adamnan are a clear proof of the excellence of the Irish monastic education. Both the style and the historic method—especially in the *De locis sanctis*—are highly praiseworthy. The author has a very varied vocabulary; he was not wholly unacquainted with Greek, since he has a fondness for introducing Greek words into his narrative.⁹ A third work, which is almost certainly by our author, was more directly the outcome of his interest in the liberal arts. For he appears to have compiled a commentary on Vergil by abbreviating the works of three previous

¹ Geyer, 283, 81 ff. ² *Life* (ed. J. T. Fowler; Oxford, 1896), I, 37.

³ Cf. I, 24 and 25.

⁴ I, 29.

⁵ II, 40.

⁶ I, 26.

⁷ I, 50.

⁸ III, 23.

⁹ The reader will gain a good insight into Adamnan's diction, especially into the more unusual features of it, from Fowler's and Geyer's indexes. See also the valuable study by Gertrud Brüning in *Zeitschrift für keltische Philologie*, 11 (1917), 211-314.

writers, Philargyrius, Titus Gallus, and Gaudentius, and adding some observations of his own. Several copies, some fuller and some more meagre, of the notes made by pupils have survived.¹

The untiring activity of the Irish in Scotland and on the continent of Europe synchronized with the conversion of the English by missionaries sent from Rome. When, at the bidding of Gregory the Great, the prior of the monastery of St. Andrew at Rome, Augustine, landed in Kent with his companions in 597, only Wales, West Wales (*i.e.* Cornwall and part of Devon), and Strathclyde were still in the hands of the Britons and a Christian area. The rest of the island had gradually passed under the sway of the Germanic invaders, who at this time were grouped into seven or eight kingdoms. In religion all alike were uncompromising heathen. Augustine during the six years of his missionary labours effected the conversion of Kent and a part of Essex. His two attempts to reach an understanding with the British Church in the West, so that its members should conform to the Roman ritual and Easter, failed. For the sixty years following Augustine's death the Roman Church in England remained in a precarious situation. The crushing victory at Chester in 616 of Ethelfrith, the heathen king of Northumbria, over the Britons in the West reduced the territory of the latter to such an extent that the dwellers in Strathclyde were cut completely off from their kinsmen in Wales. The success of Edwin *c.* 617 in dispossessing Ethelfrith and making himself master of Northumbria and then advancing his authority both southwards and westwards, followed, as it was, by his marriage in 625 to the Christian princess of Kent, Ethelburga, created more favourable conditions for promoting the spread of Christianity. Paulinus, consecrated first Bishop of York, did a great work in winning over Northumbria and then East Anglia to the Faith. But the death of Edwin in 633 was followed by a strong pagan reaction. Paulinus narrowly escaped with his life, to pass the rest of his days as Bishop of Rochester. In the next year Oswald, the second son of Ethelfrith, who had spent his earlier years as an exile in Iona, where he had received an excellent education, after a great victory over the British Cædwalla, secured the Northumbrian throne. A genuine, God-fearing ruler, he naturally desired that Christianity should be embraced by all his subjects.

¹ Cf. Funaioli in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopädie des klassischen Altertums*, s.v. Gaudentius.

It was no less natural that he should turn for help to the Irish Church in Scotland rather than to the English Church in Kent. Thus since the work of Paulinus in the North had been undone, it was Irish missionaries—Aidan was the most important—who during the next three decades achieved the permanent conversion of Northern England. The religious centre of this new Celtic Church was the monastery founded at Lindisfarne (now Holy Island). The good work continued under Oswald's successor, Oswiu. Essex and Mercia were won over to Christianity, and numerous monasteries were founded. The conversion of the West Saxons seems also to have been mainly the work of the Celtic Church. With the growth in influence of the English Wilfrith, who had become a staunch believer in the Roman observance and had secured its adoption in his own monastery at Ripon, the question of a union between the two Churches in Britain again came to the fore. In 664 King Oswiu called a synod at Whitby, at which various points of difference, especially the date of Easter, were discussed. While Wilfrith with great eloquence and adroitness represented the Roman case, the chief spokesman of the Celtic Church was Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne. Oswiu and his people decided for Wilfrith and Rome, and the Irish bishops and priests with some natives who remained faithful to them withdrew to Iona.

Thus Northumbria, Mercia, and Essex were brought into line with Kent. But almost immediately the country was visited by a pestilence which not only carried away all the bishops save one, but in places led many of the people to relapse into pagan worship. The Kings of Northumbria and Kent, fearing that the Church denuded of its leaders would rapidly disintegrate, jointly applied to Rome for aid and for a new primate. But it was not till 669 that the Greek monk, Theodore of Tarsus, consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury by Pope Vitalian himself, arrived in England. During the twenty-one years of Theodore's episcopate (died in 690) the organization and unification of the English Church under the primacy of Canterbury was assured.

This [says Bede] was the first archbishop whom all the English Church obeyed. And forasmuch as both of them (Theodore and abbot Hadrian) were, as has been said before, well read both in sacred and in secular literature, they gathered a crowd of disciples, and there daily flowed from them rivers of knowledge to water the hearts of their hearers; and, together with the book of Holy Writ, they also taught them the arts of ecclesiastical poetry,

astronomy, and arithmetic. A testimony of which is, that there are still living at this day some of their scholars, who are as well versed in the Greek and Latin tongues as in their own, in which they were born.¹

The school of Canterbury, under the guidance of Theodore and of Hadrian, once abbot of Nividanum near Monte Cassino, and from 671 installed as abbot of the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul at Canterbury, became a leading centre of education and of letters, while the library, enriched by the *codices* brought by Theodore and Hadrian, now contained many works, both theological and profane, which had hitherto been unknown in the island. Two other men stand out at this time for their efforts in founding monastic communities and furthering religious education and learning, Wilfrith, who had been the outstanding figure at Whitby in 664, and Benedict Biscop. Both men travelled extensively, the former having made three journeys to Rome before his death in 710, while Benedict visited the centre of the Christian Church no less than six times. Whatever view may be taken of Wilfrith's ecclesiastical career and his disagreements with Theodore and others,² there is no doubt that both as the founder of numerous religious houses organized on the Roman model and of churches in various parts of the country, and as the missionary who stamped out heathen worship in Sussex and the Isle of Wight, he deserves to be regarded as one of the founders of the English Church and of English culture.

Benedict Biscop (died 690) is best known as the founder of the monasteries of Wearmouth (674) and Jarrow (682) in Northumbria, which he enriched with many manuscripts, treasures, and relics gathered by him on his continental journeys. Ceolfrith, his successor as abbot (died 716), carried on the work in the same spirit, and further additions were made to the library.³ Both Wilfrith and Benedict Biscop were convinced upholders of the authority of Rome. Both had acquired much knowledge of the older Churches of Italy and Gaul, and Benedict had first taken the tonsure and been trained at Lérins. Nevertheless, though in such matters as the Easter reckoning and the tonsure and the monastic rule

¹ Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, 4, 2 (Giles's translation).

² For Wilfrith see the life by Eddius (Aedda) edited by W. Levison in MGH. Script. Merov., VI, 163 ff. and by B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927).

³ 'Bibliothecam utriusque monasterii quam Benedictus abbas magna coepit instantia, ipse (*i.e.* Ceolfrith) non minori geminavit industria.' (Bede, *Hist. Abbat.*, 15.)

followed in religious houses Rome had triumphed, the Celtic teachers who had previously laboured there left a lasting impress on education and intellectual life in all those regions of England which they had visited.¹ Perhaps the most tangible proof of this is the script written in Anglo-Saxon *scriptoria*. For it is a modification of the Irish script, and it lasted on for centuries after the Carolingian minuscule had triumphed over earlier hands on the continent. The oldest extant manuscripts written by Anglo-Saxon scribes are, even to a trained eye, scarcely distinguishable from contemporary Irish *codices*. There is a symbolic significance, too, in the first important literary figure produced by the young and vigorous English Church. In the South of England only two monasteries founded by Irishmen are on record, at Bosham in Sussex and at Malmesbury in Wessex. The former appears soon to have languished, but Malmesbury was destined for greatness.

The West Saxon, Aldhelm, who was born *c.* 639, received his early education at Malmesbury under the first abbot and founder, the Irish Mailduib (Maildufus). At the age of thirty or thereabouts he went to Kent where he became for some years a pupil of Theodore and Hadrian. Returning to Malmesbury *c.* 674 he was ordained priest, and already in the next year succeeded his old teacher as abbot. Later in life he made a pilgrimage to Rome at the invitation of Pope Sergius. In 705 he was consecrated Bishop of Sherborne. Four years later he died. Himself a Saxon of noble birth, Aldhelm was intellectually a product of Celtic and Roman training. That the latter influence was stronger and more permanent is

¹ The date of the introduction of Benedict's Rule into England and of its adoption in different houses are matters still under dispute. The following points may, however, be noted. Since Dom Chapman (*St. Benedict and the Sixth Century*, pp. 197 ff.) has shown that the Benedictine Rule was in general use in Italy and Sicily at the end of the sixth century and was the rule followed by Gregory the Great, it would be familiar to Augustine, prior of Gregory's own monastery of St. Andrew, and would be used by him in the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul at Canterbury. We know from Bede (*Hist. Abbat.*, 11; 16) that the founder of Wearmouth and Jarrow regarded St. Benedict and his Rule with deep veneration and that this Rule was in use there, though possibly with some modifications, called for by the different conditions under which the Northumbrian monks lived. Finally it is significant that the oldest extant manuscript of the Rule, belonging to the interpolated class, was written in uncials by an Anglo-Saxon scribe. This codex (Oxford, Hatton 48) has now been published in facsimile by E. A. Lowe (Oxford, 1929), who shows that it was copied soon after 700, perhaps at Canterbury.

shown by the fact that, when he became abbot of Malmesbury, he reorganized the monastery on lines which would be approved by Theodore, and by the tone of his own writings. These include both prose and verse compositions. His chief work, *De virginitate*, was first given to the world as a prose treatise; he followed this up by producing a paraphrase of it in verse. Further, he brought out a composition written in prose on rhythm and metrics, in which are incorporated one hundred riddles in verse, the whole work being dedicated to Acircius, identical with the Northumbrian king, Aldfrith. Lastly he is the author of a number of miscellaneous poems and of several important letters.¹ The last named throw some interesting side-lights on our author. While at Canterbury much of his time was devoted to secular studies—Roman law, metrics and versification, arithmetic, and astronomy, the man of over thirty has gone to school again and applies to himself a phrase of Jerome, 'I, who thought myself a scholar, am beginning again to be a pupil.'² Nevertheless, the cultivation of the liberal arts is to be only ancillary to theological studies. This Aldhelm states expressly to one correspondent,³ while he is anxious because another, who is going to Ireland to study, will spend too much time on classical mythology.⁴ His letter to Eahfrith⁵ lauds the superiority of Theodore and Hadrian over Irish scholars. The latest editor of Aldhelm was the first to explain the real point of Aldhelm's letter.⁶ Although all of Aldhelm's prose is highly artificial and abounds in rare words and turgid diction, this letter far surpasses in this respect anything else that he has written. Its vocabulary, which is derived from glossaries and has many points of similarity to the language of the *Hisperica Famina*, its constant alliteration—the letter opens with fifteen words, each beginning with the letter P—and the frequent introduction of Greek words, are meant to demonstrate to the recipient that all the stylistic flourishes and conceits of Irish scholarship can be acquired in England, and there is no need to cross the sea to learn them! It may savour of flippancy to suggest that Aldhelm had nothing to learn in the matter of advertising home commodities! At any rate the letter must not, as has been done, be read as a depreciation of Irish scholars. For, although the highest praise is reserved by Aldhelm for Theodore and Hadrian, he assuredly had not acquired his own high-

¹ Works edited by R. Ehwald in MGH.AA., XV.

² *Epist.* 1.

³ *Epist.* 8.

⁴ *Epist.* 3.

⁵ *Epist.* 5.

⁶ See Ehwald's note on p. 487 of his edition.

flown style from them. The letter is designed to show that the English pupils have outgrown their pupilage and can rival their Irish masters in their own speciality.

It must be confessed that Aldhelm's works, though much admired in and after his day, are to a modern taste utterly unpalatable. In prose he seems incapable of writing a readily intelligible sentence. While the hortatory part of the *De virginitate* does not contain a great deal which had not already been more attractively set forth elsewhere—for example, by Cyprian and Augustine, to both of whom he is indebted—the illustrative material, drawn from the New Testament, the lives of the Fathers, and numerous early lives of saints and martyrs, is of great interest, because we can see here very plainly the width of Aldhelm's reading. The poetic version, because it is phrased in simpler language, is far more readable. Here Aldhelm is heavily indebted to Vergil and Sedulius for his diction. Although his hexameters are free from licence, and, as we should expect in one so steeped in the formal rules of versification, metrically correct, they are monotonous because he has introduced so little variety in the matter of caesuras and pauses. His riddles, for which Symphosius was his model, are interesting both because they show considerable ingenuity and because they set a fashion in such literary *jeux d'esprit* which had a long history. The following is a good example of this type of poem. The answer to the riddle is *sanguisuga*, the leech.

Lurida per latices cenosas lustro paludes ;
 Nam mihi composuit nomen fortuna cruentum,
 Rubro dum bibulis vescor de sanguine buccis.
 Ossibus et pedibus geminisque carebo lacertis,
 Corpora vulneribus sed mordeo dira trisulcis
 Atque salutiferis sic curam praesto labellis.¹

However alien from modern taste Aldhelm's compositions may be, it would be a grievous error to underestimate or depreciate his significance as a writer or the greatness of his literary achievement. He is the first of a line of scholars trained in the English monasteries. Even after every allowance has been made for the fact that some of his quotations from earlier literature are derived not from the works them-

¹ No. 43 (Ehwald, p. 116). 'A lurid shape in the water I haunt muddy lakes. A name of blood was fortune's gift to me, as I feed on red blood with thirsty cheeks. Bones, feet, and twin arms I lack, but dreaded by men I bite their bodies with three-furrowed wound, and thus with health-bringing lips I afford them cure.'

selves but from an intermediate source,¹ the width of his reading is still truly astonishing. Some of the authors he had no doubt first studied with his Irish teacher; more, we may suspect, became accessible to him in the library at Canterbury of which he must have been one of the first men to make a thorough use.² He was acquainted with Vergil, Lucan, Juvenal, Juvencus, Prosper's epigrams, and Sedulius's *Paschal Poem*; the works of several other grammarians; some writings of Augustine and much of Jerome; the *Collationes* of Cassian; Gregory the Great and Isidore; Rufinus's translation of various Greek theological works and a considerable body of hagiographical literature. These are the authors whom he most frequently cited or used. There are many others from which he quotes more rarely. It is hardly necessary to add that his knowledge of the Bible was profound. His quotations from Genesis, Psalms, and the Gospel according to St. Matthew are most numerous, but save for a few of the Minor Prophets and John I and II, every book in the Old and New Testament is represented. If he was a zealous student of Scripture, he was also a Vergilian. His familiarity with this poet may astonish us and would certainly have shocked Gregory the Great. We can hardly err in supposing that this love for the pagan poet was part of his inheritance from Mailduib. In short, no country in western Europe during the seventh century could show his equal in intellectual achievement.

At the very time when Aldhelm had completed his studies at Canterbury, there was born in Northumbria, on territory afterwards belonging to Wearmouth and Jarrow, one who was to outshine Aldhelm as a scholar as much as he surpassed his contemporaries. Bede, who was born in 672 or 673, was at the age of seven entrusted as an oblate to Benedict Biscop. Though he entered Wearmouth, he was soon transferred to Jarrow. There his life was passed, and, though it is clear

¹ For example, he cites two lines from Ennius and a phrase from Sallust. But two of these quotations are found in Priscian and one in Audax, grammarians whom Aldhelm uses in various other places.

² The description of Aldhelm's library at Malmesbury given by Margarete Rösler (*Englische Studien*, 1914) is misleading in two ways. First, it is based on citations in Aldhelm's works. But we have no proof—indeed, it is in itself very improbable—that all the books which Aldhelm used were available at Malmesbury at that time. For much he probably depended on the library at Canterbury. In the second place, the actual list of books which he is supposed to have known according to Miss Rösler must be amended in the light of the information now provided by Ehwald in the notes, and in the elaborate index (pp. 542-6) of his edition.

from his own works that he visited Lindisfarne and York, there is nothing to show that he ever travelled farther afield than Northumbria. Ordained a deacon in 691 or 692, he became a priest eleven years later. He died in 735.¹ For forty odd years he laboured indefatigably as a teacher of others and as a scholar who never ceased to learn himself. His career as a writer began with school treatises on metrics, on figures of speech, and on orthography, and ended only with the last hour of his life. For, just before he died he had completed dictating a translation of the Fourth Gospel into the vernacular, a work unfortunately lost.² Apart from his historical works all Bede's writings are directly didactic. At the end of his *Ecclesiastical History* he has introduced a short biographical statement with a list of his compositions. This is extremely valuable as it enables one to set aside a number of spurious treatises which now bear Bede's name in the manuscripts. The only extant work which he does not name but which is without question genuine is the *Retractations on the Acts of the Apostles*. This was therefore composed between 731, the year in which the *Ecclesiastical History* was finished, and 735. The commentaries on Ezra and Nehemiah are known from internal evidence to have been written after 725. But in general precise dates for each of his works cannot be fixed, although it is often possible to determine the priority of one over another.³

The three short essays, entitled respectively, *De metrica arte*, *De schematibus et tropis sacrae scripturae*, and *De orthographia*, are intended for the pupils of the monastery school and were put together by Bede when he was only a deacon. Derived wholly from earlier works, they have no special significance save for the light that they throw on the mentality of their author. They prove his thorough training in the subjects of the *trivium*, wide reading in older grammatical treatises, and his own enviable gift of clear exposition. One other feature is noteworthy. Whereas in Aldhelm, notwithstanding his insistence that secular literature should only be a means to an end, the artist and admirer of great poetry, in the case of his devotion to Vergil, overmasters the ecclesi-

¹ For the correctness of the traditional date of Bede's death see C. Plummer's edition of the *Ecclesiastical History* (Oxford, 1896), I, p. lxxi, note 3; similarly, Manitius, I, p. 74, and Schubert, p. 282.

² Bede with his last breath finished what he set out to do; but there is some doubt whether this was to translate only a portion of the Fourth Gospel or the whole.

³ Cf. the full analysis in Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, pp. cxlv-clix.

astic ; in Bede the religious teacher predominates. His poetic illustrations in the tract on metrics are taken almost wholly from Christian poets. Similarly, in his second essay pagan learning supplies the rules, the illustratory citations are all taken from the Bible.

Bede's interest in scientific questions stayed with him all his life. The short *Liber de temporibus* is an early work, a school-book explaining the various divisions of time and the seasons, and compiled from Isidore with additions from Macrobius and Pliny the Elder. Of later but uncertain date is the *De natura rerum*, a description of the physical universe put together from Pliny and Isidore. Latest of all (725) is the more elaborate work on chronology, entitled *De ratione temporum*, to which is appended an outline of world history with the chief dates since the creation of the world. In addition to the three sources used in the earlier works Bede consulted for this a large number of earlier chroniclers and writers on chronology. Thus he succeeded in making a valuable synthesis in which divergent earlier systems of reckoning were brought into harmony. The book was extensively used after Bede's time, and through it the dating of events backwards or forwards from the birth of Christ, which Bede took over from Dionysius Exiguus, instead of from the creation of the world, came into general use in western Europe.

By far the largest section of Bede's collected works is made up of his commentaries on books of the Old and New Testament.¹ Their bulk, their influence, and the fact that Bede himself would probably have considered them his most important contribution to scholarship, make it desirable to consider their method and content more closely than is generally done by modern critics, who concentrate all their attention on Bede's historical works. Bede seems to have begun his exegetical labours on books of the New Testament, since his commentaries on the Apocalypse, Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and the Gospel according to St. Luke were all composed prior to the commentary on Samuel, which was not finished till after June, 716. With the exception of the commentary on St. Mark and the *Retractations* on the Acts, all his later exposi-

¹ Except for Plummer's edition of the *Ecclesiastical History*, Bede's works still await a modern editor. In the meanwhile it is necessary to use the edition of J. A. Giles (London, 1844 ; twelve volumes) or PL., 90-95, which in the main reproduces Giles's text. The references that follow are to the volumes and pages of Giles's edition.

tory works dealt with books of the Old Testament.¹ Apart from the *Retractations*, which must be separately considered, Bede's general approach and aims are the same in all his expositions. In his emphasis on allegorical interpretation he is an admiring disciple of Gregory the Great, and this Father, together with Jerome and Augustine, is his constant guide on matters of exegesis and doctrine. Sometimes the literal and the allegorical meaning of a passage only are set side by side. For example, in commenting on the words, *qui est iuxta Hierusalem, sabbati habens iter* (Acts i. 12), he explains :

According to the historical sense he points out that the Mount of Olives was a mile away from the city of Jerusalem. For on the Sabbath according to the Law it was not permissible to walk more than a mile. According to the allegorical sense the man who shall be worthy inwardly to behold the glory of the Lord ascending to the Father and to be enriched with the promise of the Holy Spirit, he on a Sabbath journey enters the city of eternal peace.

But at times he recognizes a threefold or even a fourfold sense of Scripture.² There are many reasons why Bede's commentaries, though most of the doctrine and much of the learning that they contain are derived from earlier theologians and scholars, have a character of their own and deservedly became a model for many future exegetes. He is passionately orthodox, not merely in his support of Rome against the practices of the Celtic Church, but in his condemnation of heresy. The world has seen few men of a more kindly, charitable, and truly Christian disposition. Hence it is almost painful to read his fierce denunciations of Pelagius and Pelagius's chief supporter, Julian of Aeclanum,³ his severe comments on Origen,⁴ or his sneers at the upholders of the Celtic Easter,⁵ or even at Diogenes 'and those like him, followers of a foolish philosophy'.⁶ His allusions to and warnings against Pelagianism are indeed so frequent that it almost looks as if there had been signs of a recrudescence of this

¹ Neither the commentary on St. Matthew nor that on St. John, included among his collected works, is genuine (see A. E. Schönbach in *Sitzungsberichte*, Vienna Academy, phil.-hist. Klasse, CXLVI, No. 4, 1903). Nor did Bede expound the Epistle to the Hebrews.

² See Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, p. lxii, note 1.

³ The whole of the first book of the commentary on the Song of Songs is a diatribe against Julian (Giles, IX, pp. 186 ff.). For references to Pelagius see also *ibid.*, VIII, pp. 404, 425; XII, *passim*.

⁴ Giles, XII, p. 13; cf., too, IX, pp. 66-7, where Bede condemns the laxity of Origenist teaching on the doctrine of eternal punishment.

⁵ Giles, VI, pp. 247, 262.

⁶ *ibid.*, VIII, p. 387.

heresy in Britain in Bede's own time, unless indeed it had never died out there.¹ Allegorical interpretation, which is the leading purpose of all these commentaries and which is found in its most elaborate form in those on Samuel and on the Song of Songs, is a form of spiritual and intellectual exercise for which modern readers have neither the taste nor the understanding. Its all but universal use by monastic teachers and commentators, like the attribution of everything out of the common to miraculous intervention of the Deity either directly or through chosen instruments, forces one to realize how utterly alien to our own habits of thought, and how all but incomprehensible, were some of the workings of the mediaeval mind. Exegetes who, like Christian of Stavelot,² concentrated on the literal or historic sense of Scripture and assigned only a subordinate place to its esoteric meaning, were exceedingly rare. What makes Bede's commentaries more readable than most—than Gregory's *Moralia*, for example, although Bede himself would have been inexpressibly shocked to have been told so—is that his Latinity is of almost classical purity, and that his wide interests and wider reading led him to introduce much other material, even though he himself considered it to be of secondary importance. He had studied not only the Vulgate but one or more earlier Latin versions of the Bible. He had begun to learn Greek early,³ and his works are proof that he persisted in this study throughout his life. All his commentaries, even the earliest, contain a certain number of *Graeca*. Some of these indeed are derived from the sources he uses, but his *Retractationes* make it clear that in middle life he had an independent mastery of the language. Although there may be some doubt how far he was personally familiar with the Septuagint, we see him in his latest

¹ Pelagianism, like the Paschal question, is constantly on Bede's mind, which suggests that it was a living question to him, and not merely to be alluded to once or twice academically, like the many other forms of unorthodoxy. Hence one must take exception to the categorical statement of Dom Gougaud (*Chrétientés celtiques*, p. 34) that Pelagianism in Britain did not survive the second visit to the island of St. Germanus in 447.

² On Christian's methods as a commentator, cf. M. L. W. Laistner in *Harvard Theological Review*, 20 (1927), pp. 129-49.

³ Whence did Bede obtain his first introduction to Greek? It seems more likely in Northumbria to have been from a teacher trained by the Irish than from one produced by the school of Theodore and Hadrian, unless it could be proved that Benedict Biscop or Ceolfrith knew some Greek. But in that case we should have expected Bede to refer to the fact in his appreciation of the two men.

work studying the Greek New Testament with care. Indeed, one of the main purposes of the *Retractationes* is the collation of the Greek original with the Latin translation. He corrects etymologies which he had put forward in his exposition of Acts—a comparatively early work—explaining frankly that he had learnt better in the interval.¹ That his contemporaries were ignorant of Greek appears from some of his comments.² He points out erroneous renderings in the Vulgate³ and frequently draws attention to a word or phrase in the Greek which does not appear in the Latin.⁴ He silences possible critics of his textual studies by referring them to one of his guides, the Greek Father, Gregory of Nazianzus.⁵ No writer within the period covered by this book had read as voluminously as Bede. Plummer in his classic edition of the *Ecclesiastical History* lists well over one hundred authors actually named by Bede,⁶ but this evidence must be qualified by two considerations. First, there are cases where Bede cites his source at second hand. For example, the quotations from Martial and Sallust in the commentary on Acts are, as the context clearly shows, derived from Isidore.⁷ In the second place, the list, long as it is, does not give us a reliable notion of Bede's use of his sources. The extent of his indebtedness, indeed, will not be certainly established until an edition of his theological writings answering to the demands of modern scholarship has become available. Undoubtedly much that at present passes as his will then be found to be cited verbally or to be adapted from his predecessors. It has already been pointed out how unacknowledged quotations from Primasius appear in Bede's commentary on the Apocalypse.⁸ In the same work there are borrowings, without acknowledgement, from Isidore and Cassiodorus.⁹ Unlike the majority of

¹ 'solertius ediscens' (Giles, XII, p. 123).

² E.g., *op. cit.*, XII, 101–2, he warns against making *Pentecosten* a nominative; XII, 105, he explains that *σκότος* is translated by *tenebrae* because the Latin word has no singular. He adds that in rendering the word into Old English the singular should be kept.

³ *op. cit.*, XII, 116.

⁴ These comments are regularly introduced by phrases like, 'in Graeco habetur plus, initium huius loci in Graeco plus habet, in Graeco additum est'.

⁵ *op. cit.*, XII, 103.

⁶ Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, p. 1, note 3.

⁷ Giles, XII, 46 and 91; see Isidore, *Etym.*, 12, 1, 22 and 13, 18, 6.

⁸ See above, page 73.

⁹ For instance, for his definition of *orichalcum*, *smaragdus*, *chryso-prasus*, *hyacinthus*, and *amethystus* Bede uses the sixteenth book of Isidore's *Etymologies*. His definition of *topazion* comes from Cassio-

mediaeval writers Bede was extremely scrupulous in acknowledging his authorities, and indicated them in his own works. He specially requested those who should copy his writings on no account to omit his marginal references to sources.¹ In no extant manuscript are these *marginalia* found, which causes one to wonder whether the author's wishes were ever observed at all. Yet, however great Bede's debt to his predecessors may be, he does not copy uncritically. He is careful to select what will be useful and intelligible to his readers, he adds his own comments and observations, and he has knit the whole together in a way which raises his theological works far above the level of mere compilation and which bears clearly the impress of his mind and personality. 'Il possède un art particulier pour agencer en une mosaïque habile les mots qu'il emprunte soigneusement à ses sources, et pour en composer un tout qui se distingue par la cohérence, l'équilibre et la pondération.'² In selecting and adapting so much of the teaching of the great Church Fathers for his own pupils and for those that followed after, Bede performed a service of immense value to mediaeval students of theology. Amongst the other theological works attributed to him some of the Homilies are genuine and in all likelihood also the treatise, *Aliquot quaestionum liber*, which has generally been regarded as spurious.³

But it is by his historical compositions that Bede is best known, and on those that his reputation as an author primarily rests. Chief amongst these are the five books of the *Ecclesiastical History*, the full title of which is *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. Its narrative is carried down to 731, the very year in which it was completed. Reference has already been made to Bede's chronological researches. A somewhat earlier and far less ambitious work was a history of the first five abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow. The lives in prose and in verse of St. Cuthbert, written about the same time, are almost purely hagiographical. Finally we may mention a short work that is historical in content though not in form, the letter of Bede addressed to the newly consecrated Archdorus's commentary on Psalm cxviii. 127. On the lack of precise references in his historical works cf. Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, p. xxiv, note 1.

¹ Giles, X, p. 269.

² H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1908), p. 118.

³ See P. Lehmann, 'Wert und Echtheit einer Beda abgesprochenen Schrift', in *Sitzungsberichte*, Bavarian Academy, Munich, 1919.

bishop of York, Egbert, towards the end of 734, only a few months before Bede's death.¹ Bede never lacked friends and admirers who spurred him on to write. And, just as Acca, bishop of Hexham, was, so to speak, the godfather of many of the commentaries which on completion were dedicated to him, so the prime instigator of the *Ecclesiastical History* was the abbot of St. Peter and St. Paul at Canterbury, Albinus. For Chapters 1 to 22 of the first book Bede did little more than copy earlier writers, Orosius, Prosper of Aquitaine, an early life of St. Germanus, and perhaps some other hagiographical writings now lost. His own work, properly speaking, begins in Chapter 23 with the mission of St. Augustine. Bede's preface is of great interest. He is in line with some of the greatest historians of antiquity when he stresses the ethical purpose of historical writing. He explains what great pains he has taken to secure his information from the most reliable sources. Highly placed ecclesiastics, like Albinus, Daniel, bishop of the West Saxons, and others, the monks of Lastingham abbey, the priest Nothelm in London, have all placed him in their debt for the information which they have been able to put at his disposal. Nothelm, when in Rome, had also consulted the Papal archives on Bede's behalf. In addition, Bede makes a general acknowledgement of earlier written sources which he has utilized. He ends up by asking his readers for their prayers, after observing :

I humbly pray the reader that, if he should find aught set down in my history other than the true account, he may not blame us who have striven—this being the true law of history—to set down simply in writing for the instruction of posterity what we have collected from common report.

Besides this general acknowledgement in the preface Bede occasionally refers in the course of his narrative to an informant who has given him data about some special topic or person.² There is no doubt that by his careful methods Bede was able to gather together much precious information and many interesting traditions, which, but for him, would certainly have been lost, about the growth of the English Church fostered by Rome and concerning the labours of the Celtic missionaries in the northern parts of the island. Incidentally

¹ The *Historia abbatum* and the *Letter to Egbert* will be found in Plummer's edition of the *History*, the lives of St. Cuthbert in Giles, vol. IV.

² For instance, Deda (2, 16), abbot of Partney, who is also named in the preface.

we are filled with much respect for the various informants of Bede who were so eager to help a difficult undertaking, and clearly so convinced of his fitness for the task that they did their utmost to supply him with all the *data* they could muster.

The result is by universal consent a masterpiece. The various portions of the story are so well fused into one whole, the selection of topics and their proportionate treatment so balanced, and the passionate desire of the author to bequeath to his fellow-countrymen a worthy record of their development as a Christian people so omnipresent, that his work became not merely the history of the growth of a Church but of the formation of a people. It has a unity which Gregory of Tours' *History of the Franks* lacks, a work, indeed, to which it is superior in all respects save one, dramatic intensity. But if there is no portrait or scene as vivid as the best in Gregory, nevertheless the English historian, whose greater critical powers are manifested in many ways, notably in the restraint he shows in dealing with miraculous occurrences, has no mean ability as a descriptive writer. We see this not only in the best-known stories in his work—Gregory the Great and the English slaves, Oswald and Aidan, or the tale of Cædmon—but in many briefer passages.¹ The *Historia ecclesiastica* became at once, what it has remained to this day, an authoritative work, and, though its interest to monastic students on the continent in the centuries that followed Bede's death was from the nature of its subject not so intense as amongst Bede's countrymen, it existed in many monastic libraries and was frequently copied.² The popularity of Bede's other works was even greater. As a theological commentator he attained to a position of authority inferior only to that of the four Fathers of the Latin Church.

¹ E.g., the vivid description of Paulinus (2, 16); Wilfrith helping the starving population of Sussex which he had just converted to Christianity (4, 13); the tale of the two friends, Ethelhun and Egbert (3, 27).

² On the extant manuscripts of the *History*, numbering more than 140, see Plummer, I, pp. lxxx-cxlv. Two of the four oldest manuscripts were written on the continent.

CHAPTER VI

THE WESTERN EUROPEAN CONTINENT, c. 637-751, AND THE MISSIONARY LABOURS OF BONIFACE

A CLOSE union between Church and State, in which the ecclesiastical power for the most part predominated was characteristic of Spain in the period between the death of Isidore and the Arab conquest in 711. Rigid and intolerant orthodoxy coupled with a zeal for organization found expression in numerous Councils, of which there were no less than fifteen between 633 and 701. The new codification of the law—the so-called *Leges Visigothorum*—completed during this period was the direct outcome of the Church's synodal activity, and represents a fusion of the enactments of the Temporal Power with the canons of the ecclesiastical councils. What is known of the intellectual life of this age—and it is little enough—is centred in Toledo and in three of the occupants of its see, Eugenius (647-657), Ildefonsus (657-667), and Julian (680-690).¹ The first of these, though of no great distinction as an author, was a man of considerable culture and varied interests. For he wrote a treatise on the Trinity, now lost, prepared a revised edition of the Arian poet Dracontius, and was himself a prolific versifier, since the extant collection of his short poems numbers not less than one hundred. They prove that he was familiar with seven or eight earlier poets, from Vergil to Fortunatus, and although the positive merits of his verse are slight, they seem, judging by the frequency with which they were cited by writers of the eighth and ninth centuries, to have enjoyed posthumous fame. Ildefonsus comes before us both as a biographical and a theological writer. His *De viris illustribus*, continuing Isidore's work of the same name, contains brief accounts of Gregory the Great, an African monk, Donatus, who became abbot of a Spanish monastery, and twelve Spanish prelates. Of his theological tracts that on the Perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Mary—*De virginitate perpetua S.*

¹ Saragossa could boast of two cultured bishops in the seventh century, Braulio (see above, p. 89) and Taio (see below, p. 131).

Mariae—is important, since it was the immediate cause and inspiration of Mariolatry in Spain.¹

The most arresting figure, however, is Julian. During the ten years of his episcopate he was the most powerful man in Spain, and his chief doctrinal work was, as it were, the expression of what he conceived to be an important part of his episcopal functions, the suppression of the Jews. Where Ildefonsus had been content to inveigh against the hated race in two chapters,² his successor launched a treatise in three books, in which he attacks, often with the bitterest abuse, the claims of the Jews that hitherto there had been only five ages of mankind, while the sixth would be inaugurated by the advent of the Messiah, who was yet to come. Julian maintains, on the contrary, that the sixth age had been ushered in with the birth of Christ, sent into the world in accordance with God's promise. Julian, in addition to numerous citations from both the Old and the New Testament, strengthens his case by quotations from Augustine, Tertullian, Gregory the Great, Hilary, Epiphanius, Jerome, and Eusebius. His extensive acquaintance with Patristic literature is further illustrated by another work, a collection of apparently contradictory passages in the Scriptures, which can nevertheless be brought into harmony. There are over two hundred of these passages, mostly arranged in twos, and the quotation of the seemingly opposed statements is followed by a short exposition reconciling them. The explanation is in many cases taken verbally from one of the Fathers, as the following example will show :

Cum Psalmista dicat (Psalm xxxv. 7), 'homines et iumenta salvos facies, Domine,' quomodo Paulus apostolus quasi e contrario videtur dicere (1 Cor. ix. 9), 'nunquid de bobus cura est Deo?'

There follows a long passage from Augustine's commentary on Psalm cxlv. Julian's authorities in this collection are in the first place Augustine and Gregory the Great,³ but there are also excerpts from Ambrose, Jerome, Origen, and the tract, *De Trinitate et Spiritu Sancto*, falsely attributed to

¹ Printed in PL., 96.

² PL., 96, 64-71.

³ Gregory's works were held in high honour in Spain. We saw that Ildefonsus devoted a chapter to him in his *De viris illustribus*. Taio, bishop of Saragossa, after he had visited Rome and obtained a copy of Gregory's works which were no longer available in Spain in his day, compiled a *liber sententiarum* of which the largest part was culled from the *Moralia*.

Vigilius of Thapsus.¹ Julian's treatise on death and the future state shows a similar reliance on his predecessors. He was also the author of two secular works. The first is a history of the rebellion against king Wamba raised in the Narbonaise by Paul; the other is a school-text or *Ars grammatica*, compiled from older grammarians but illustrated by a number of quotations from pagan and Christian poets which are not found in Julian's extant predecessors in this field.² Thus Julian's writings afford conclusive evidence that as a scholar he was no unworthy successor to Isidore of Seville and that at the end of the seventh century the library at Toledo was still a repository of many theological and secular books.³

In Italy between the death of Gregory I and the age of Charlemagne there is a complete absence of names noteworthy in the history of literature or thought. But there is sufficient evidence to show that in a few cities and in some monasteries intellectual studies were not dead. It was a time of difficulty and stress for the Roman Church and for her successive heads. The steady advance of the Lombards had not only reduced more and more territory in Italy which had owed allegiance to the emperor at Constantinople, but had destroyed the geographical continuity of the Byzantine possessions. Already by the formation of the duchy of Spoleto (c. 576) direct communication between Ravenna and Rome had been cut. The popes were now in effect temporal rulers of the Roman duchy, which included a part of S. Tuscany, the Campagna, and the

¹ The authorship of this, the last of twelve books on the Trinity, is uncertain. See O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, III, p. 57. It should be noted that Julian himself attributes one of these passages to Augustine (PL., 96, 678C-D).

² On this work and its early distribution in Britain and on the continent see the essay by C. H. Beeson in *Miscellanea Fr. Ehrle*, I (1924), pp. 50-70. He shows that the archetype of existing manuscripts was an insular manuscript or copied from an insular manuscript.

³ It is tantalizing to be in doubt whether Julian had access to manuscripts of Varro and Catullus (cf. Beeson, *op. cit.*, p. 53). If the fragment of a commentary on the prophet Nahum be a genuine work of Julian, then we have also evidence that he was familiar with Cicero's *De inventione*. For that early rhetorical treatise is twice quoted in the preface to the commentary (PL., 96, 708 and 709). For Julian's theological and historical works see PL., 96. A critical text of a part of the *Ars grammatica* has been published by W. M. Lindsay as No. XV of the *St. Andrew's University Publications* (1922). For other works by Julian, now lost, cf. A. Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España*, I, p. 550.

Sabine hill country to the East. The coastal regions of Campania formed the duchy of Naples. The South too—Calabria, Bruttium, and Apulia—was a part of the Eastern Empire, but between this dependency and Rome and Naples lay the powerful Lombard duchies of Benevento and Salerno. Thus Italy, in the seventh century, was parcelled out politically into a large number of principalities, and, although theoretically these were divided between two rulers, the Emperor and the Lombard king, actually there was no continuous unity. For the hold of Constantinople was steadily weakening, while the Lombard dukes in the South and in central Italy, and even in Tuscany, behaved in practice as independent rulers, paying little attention to the behests of the Lombard monarch at Pavia.

The great influx into Italy of Greeks and members of the Eastern Churches during the seventh century, due to the loss of Palestine, Syria, and Egypt to the Persians and Arabs, had permanent results in the south of the Italian peninsula. Bruttium and Calabria became culturally a part of the Eastern Empire. Their language and their liturgy were Greek, and their intellectual life forms a small chapter of the intellectual history of the Byzantine world.¹ Rome, too, provided a home and a refuge for many of these emigrants. Yet the considerable Eastern-Greek colony which existed there from about the middle of the seventh century, and which received many fresh members in the next century during the iconoclastic controversy, seems to have kept to itself and to have exerted little or no influence on Italian culture, nor yet in ecclesiastical affairs after the final rupture between Byzantium and Rome (753). During the seventh century, however, it has been seen how one of these strangers, Theodore of Tarsus, was chosen by Pope Vitalian to reorganize the English Church. The majority of popes between Theodore I (642–649) and Zacharias (741–752) were from one or other of the countries in the Eastern Empire. During that time the Greek liturgy was introduced in Rome.

The Lombards, who on their first conversion to Christianity had been Arians, had for a while acted more ruthlessly on their advent in Italy than any of the earlier invaders. With their gradual conversion to the orthodox faith, although there were brief periods of Arian reaction, persecutions, either

¹ A Greek dialect is still spoken in certain villages in Southern Italy. On this survival from early times see the interesting study of G. Rohlfs, *Griechen und Romanen in Unteritalien* (Geneva, 1924).

political or religious, ceased. The power of the clergy under Lombard rule was very restricted, and the bishops had neither the independence nor the influence in their relations with the temporal rulers which the princes of the Church exercised in the contemporary Frankish or Visigothic kingdoms.

Italy at this time produced no scholars comparable to Isidore, Aldhelm, or Bede. Outside a few civic centres and the best of the monasteries education was at the lowest ebb. Surviving private deeds and documents of the age testify to widespread illiteracy. They are drawn up in barbarous Latin, and the signatories often only affix their mark because they cannot sign their names; in this respect many of the clergy were in no better case than the laity. In contrast to this is the evidence afforded by centres like Rome, Pavia, Milan, Ravenna, or by monasteries such as those at Bobbio, Verona, Naples, and, after 718, Monte Cassino. At Pavia, we learn from the historian of the Lombards, there continued to be men like Felix, who was a learned grammarian, or bishop Damian, who is described as 'sufficiently learned in the liberal arts.'¹ One of the greatest of the Lombard kings, Liutprand (712-744), though himself illiterate,² founded many monasteries and churches and was the first monarch to have a private oratory in his palace. Benedictus Crispus, Archbishop of Milan from 681 to 725, who was involved in a dispute with the pope over a question of ecclesiastical privilege, had when still a deacon composed a short medical poem in hexameters. He is praised by Paul the Deacon for his learning and piety, and is generally recognized as the author of a poem on Cædwalla reproduced by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History*.³ The *medicinae libellum*⁴ is addressed to a former pupil whom, as he remarks, he had 'enriched with the bounty of sevenfold eloquence,' a somewhat grandiose reference to the liberal arts. Its twenty-six short sections set out the remedies for various bodily ailments from a headache to gout. For the author proceeds methodically downwards from the head to the feet. He utilized Pliny, the medical writer, and Quintus Serenus, and also the Latin version of Dioscorides, thereby showing us to what earlier writers on medicine he had access. His verse

¹ Paul the Deacon (MGH. Script. Langob.), vi, 7, and v, 38.

² *op. cit.*, vi, 58—*litterarum quidem ignarus, sed philosophis aequandus*.

³ *Eccl. Hist.*, 5, 7.

⁴ It will be found in PL., 89, coll. 369-76. A better, but less accessible, text is that published by S. de Renzi in *Collectio Salernitana* (Naples, 1852), I, 72 ff.

is as painful to the ear as the recommended potions must have been nauseating to the taste. The poem on Cædwalla, however, proves that Crispus could write correct and even pleasing lines, so that it is fair to attribute the harshness of the *medicinae libellum* to the intractable vocabulary which his subject forced him to employ. An unknown writer of Ravenna towards the end of the seventh century produced a cosmography which is by no means without value. His main source was the so-called Peutinger Table, which may probably be identified with the work of Castorius to which he alludes. But he used other compilations as well, so that his book, which in the main consists of little more than names, furnishes much useful information not to be found elsewhere concerning place-names during the early Middle Ages. The Anonymus Ravennas has often been accused of making a parade of sources that are fictitious, of being, in fact, a liar. Yet in the many passages where it is possible to check his statements by comparison with other extant writings, his accuracy has been completely vindicated. And it is surely remarkable that some of his strongest detractors have been most ready to use his information when it suited them.¹ One is therefore justified in assigning him a place of importance side by side with Castorius and the authors of various itineraries from whom we derive the bulk of our knowledge about the topography of the Late Roman Empire and the Germanic kingdoms.

The influence of Bobbio during the earliest period of its history is not easy to determine. Its contacts were rather with the North than with the South. The four immediate successors of Columban were Franks, and the majority of its monks, in so far as they were not Irishmen, seem to have come from regions north of the Alps. The relations between Bobbio and what was in a sense its parent house, Luxeuil, and with Lérins were close. Even in the seventh century the library at Bobbio was respectable, and a very active *scriptorium* was engaged in steadily increasing its resources. Many manuscripts of profane authors, owing to the high cost of parchment, were erased and used again for copying books of the Bible or theological treatises. A similar practice is well attested in the *scriptorium* at Verona, and there still survive not a few such palimpsests. An especial interest, as has already been

¹ Cf. the important article by Funaioli in PW., s.v. Ravennas (1920), and the admirable remarks of Konrad Miller in his *Itineraria Romana* (Stuttgart, 1916), pp. xxvi-xxix.

suggested, attaches to the library at Bobbio, and perhaps to Verona, because many *codices* which had belonged to Cassiodorus's library at Vivarium ultimately found a resting-place there.¹ A seventh-century monk at Bobbio, Jonas, who, it should be noted, was a native of Susa in Northern Italy, has left us an excellent example of mediaeval hagiography in two books. The first contains a life of Columban, the second treats more briefly of some of Columban's disciples, including Athala and Bertulf, Columban's immediate successors at Bobbio. Jonas was associated with Bobbio from his earliest youth, since he entered the monastery as an oblate. His biography of Columban is detailed and, in the main, an accurate work, written at a time when the memory of the great man was still fresh, and before reliable historical *data* had been submerged in a mass of legend. As Jonas himself tells us, there were still many persons alive, especially in Bobbio itself, who had known Columban, 'to relate to me not what they had heard but what they had seen'. Thus the biographer was better placed for obtaining trustworthy information than, for example, Adamnan when he composed his *Life of Columba*. Moreover, Jonas's work is a genuine biography in which the extensive travels of the saint, his foundation of Luxeuil and other houses in Burgundy, his stay in Alemannia, and his final journey to Northern Italy are set forth in great detail, and the miracles performed by Columban are not excessively obtruded. Stylistically, however, he is markedly Adamnan's inferior. He is inclined to verbosity, his sentences are sometimes unnecessarily involved, and he is not free from grammatical errors. Yet he appears for his age to have been well read. He cites from a lost book of Livy, he was familiar with Vergil and quotes a line from Juvencus. Although we cannot assume that Jonas had perused all the writers of hagiography whom he enumerates in his opening chapter, he was certainly acquainted with some.² He occasionally trips up in his allusions to Merovingian history, and he is silent about some important events in Columban's life. For, although he relates at length Columban's quarrel with Brun-

¹ Cf. W. Weinberger in *Miscellanea Fr. Ehrle*, IV (1924), pp. 75-88. Many early manuscripts of Bobbio will be found in the lists of uncial and half-uncial *codices* published by E. A. Lowe in the same work, pp. 34-61, and in *C.Q.*, 19 (1925), pp. 197-208, and 22 (1928), pp. 43-62.

² The life will be found in MGH. Script. Merov., IV, pp. 61-156. The phrase 'quorum nos exempla temerario conatu secuti' is quite general and can hardly be interpreted as a claim that Jonas had read all the authors he names.

hild and the court, he throws no light on the saint's disputes with the heads of the Gallican Church. Nor does he advert to Columban's correspondence with Gregory the Great. But, if his work is not free from faults, it is nevertheless both for its intrinsic merits and for the interest of its subject one of the outstanding hagiographical compositions produced during the early Middle Ages. The monastery of St. Vincent on the Volturno does not emerge into prominence until the latter part of the eighth century, when, under the abbacy of Ambrosius Autpertus, it enjoyed a period of great cultural distinction. But one may judge that it was an influential religious community long before from the help it gave to the monks of Monte Cassino. The foundation of St. Benedict had been destroyed in 581 during a Lombard raid. The brethren made good their escape to Rome where they found a dwelling near the Lateran. Not until the early years of the eighth century (c. 718) was Monte Cassino refounded during the papacy of Gregory II.¹ The new community received substantial aid from Rome and from St. Vincent, and it flourished until 883. In that year when it was destroyed by the Saracens the bulk of its library perished, whereas in 581 the monks appear to have brought a goodly number of their *codices* safely with them to Rome. After the site had been resettled once more in 949, the parent house of Benedictine monasticism entered on two centuries of unexampled influence and prosperity.

But already during the eighth and ninth centuries Monte Cassino was the centre of a South Italian culture almost coterminous with the duchy of Benevento, a circumstance brought most clearly before us by the use of a common script, now called Beneventan, in all the religious communities of that area. Amongst these centres, though not part of the duchy of Benevento, was Naples, which had never ceased to foster the study of theology and the liberal arts.² Here, even in the ninth century, Greek was still spoken by some, though a knowledge of that language was wellnigh extinct in the rest of the peninsula, save for the very restricted area

¹ The traditional account has been given in the text. Chapman, *St. Benedict and the Sixth Century*, pp. 130-5, is inclined to reject it, and doubts whether the Lateran community was composed of monks from Monte Cassino at all.

² On this South Italian area and its culture see E. A. Loew (Lowe), *The Beneventan Script* (Oxford, 1914). The use of the script spread to some Italian centres north of the Duchy of Benevento and also to the Dalmatian coast. Cf. the map facing page 42 of Loew's work.

in the extreme south, to which allusion has already been made. It is not until the Carolingian age, however, that notable scholars and their works claim our attention in this area. The regions on the European continent which in due course benefited most fundamentally by the new Anglo-Saxon culture were the countries lying east and west of the Rhine. In the Frankish realm under the later Merovingian kings it was not merely the political but the ecclesiastical organization which had declined rapidly after the days of Gregory of Tours. The work of the Irish missionaries in the seventh century had undoubtedly achieved results. It had led to the foundation of new monastic centres and to the reform of others already existing. But Irish monasticism was too rigidly ascetic, and its organization too particularistic, to bring about a general and permanent improvement in religious houses. Nor had it much influence on the ecclesiastical system as a whole, being indeed incapable of arresting the rapid secularization of the Church or the steadily increasing worldliness of bishops and other prelates. Nor are there at this time any productions of Irish continental scholarship to record. In truth, the literary output in Gaul—to use a convenient geographical term—between approximately 600 and 750 was deplorable both in quality and quantity. The notorious barbarism in style and language of Merovingian charters and other documents meets us also, if not in quite so pronounced a degree, in the literary remains of that age. The hagiographical literature both in the arrangement and treatment of the subject and in its latinity is exceedingly poor in comparison with the works in this *genre* of Gregory of Tours, Jonas, or Adamnan, and with the saints' lives written in the Carolingian period. For these may indeed be largely fictitious and inferior as historical material to the biographies composed by those three earlier authors, but at least they are in many cases distinguished by considerable literary merit. Expository works, whether theological or connected with the liberal arts, there are none, if we set aside the freakish efforts of a single enigmatic writer calling himself Virgilius Maro the grammarian. Everything that concerns this man and his work may be said to be involved in controversy. His *floruit*, though some scholars have sought to put it in the fifth, others in the sixth century, was almost certainly in the seventh. He lived in all likelihood in Southern Gaul, perhaps in Toulouse. He has left us two compositions, *Epitomae* and eight *Epistles* addressed to a deacon, Julius Germanus. Both deal with

grammar and linguistics but in a manner that, as some examples will show, can only be described as fantastic. The writer would distinguish four genders and twelve different varieties of Latin! He introduces numerous verbs and other parts of speech which are pure invention, and he justifies the use of all kinds of tricks, resulting in a secret language unintelligible save to the initiated. Thus, the order of letters in a word may be changed so that *lego* may be written *gelo*, and whole sentences may be broken up into their component letters and then these can be ranged together. In addition to all this Virgilius refers to many authorities. Some are the names of classical authors, like Cato, Horace, or Lucan. Actually these names are entirely fictitious, or else they are classical sobriquets assumed by or bestowed on the author's contemporaries. There are many other names besides, including those of Virgilius's real or pretended teachers. The allusions to contemporary grammarians are as preposterous as the grammatical lore. For who can seriously believe in two grammarians who disputed for fifteen days and nights without stopping about the inchoative forms of the verb, or in two others whose argumentation concerning the vocative of *ego* lasted continuously for a fortnight? To take Virgilius and his work seriously as it stands is impossible. It has indeed been suggested that he may have been one of a circle of 'scholars' who kept up the study of one portion of the liberal arts in this perverted way. But even this explanation is hardly credible; for even the most precious productions of an earlier age do not approximate remotely to the extravagances of Virgilius. As regards its strangeness, the nearest approach to the cryptic character of the *Epitomae* is the *Hisperica Famina*, though the content and language are different. While it cannot be proved, perhaps the most satisfactory explanation is that Virgilius's works are a skit or parody on grammatical treatises.¹ Nor would they be worth even a passing mention, were it not that they found some favour with Anglo-Saxon and Irish scholars from the seventh to the ninth century.

Another strange production which was popular in the ninth and following centuries is the pseudo-geographical work of

¹ This explanation was, so far as I am aware, first mooted by P. Lehmann (*Die lat. Parodie im Mittelalter* [Munich, 1922], pp. 21-2). For fuller information about Virgilius see Roger, pp. 110 ff., and Manitius, pp. 119-27. Virgilius's works have been edited by J. Huemer in the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* (Leipzig, 1886).

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grammar and linguistics but in a manner that, as some examples will show, can only be described as fantastic. The writer would distinguish four genders and twelve different varieties of Latin! He introduces numerous verbs and other parts of speech which are pure invention, and he justifies the use of all kinds of tricks, resulting in a secret language unintelligible save to the initiated. Thus, the order of letters in a word may be changed so that *lego* may be written *gelo*, and whole sentences may be broken up into their component letters and then these can be ranged together. In addition to all this Virgilius refers to many authorities. Some are the names of classical authors, like Cato, Horace, or Lucan. Actually these names are entirely fictitious, or else they are classical sobriquets assumed by or bestowed on the author's contemporaries. There are many other names besides, including those of Virgilius's real or pretended teachers. The allusions to contemporary grammarians are as preposterous as the grammatical lore. For who can seriously believe in two grammarians who disputed for fifteen days and nights without stopping about the inchoative forms of the verb, or in two others whose argumentation concerning the vocative of *ego* lasted continuously for a fortnight? To take Virgilius and his work seriously as it stands is impossible. It has indeed been suggested that he may have been one of a circle of 'scholars' who kept up the study of one portion of the liberal arts in this perverted way. But even this explanation is hardly credible; for even the most precious productions of an earlier age do not approximate remotely to the extravagances of Virgilius. As regards its strangeness, the nearest approach to the cryptic character of the *Epitomae* is the *Hisperica Famina*, though the content and language are different. While it cannot be proved, perhaps the most satisfactory explanation is that Virgilius's works are a skit or parody on grammatical treatises.¹ Nor would they be worth even a passing mention, were it not that they found some favour with Anglo-Saxon and Irish scholars from the seventh to the ninth century.

Another strange production which was popular in the ninth and following centuries is the pseudo-geographical work of

¹ This explanation was, so far as I am aware, first mooted by P. Lehmann (*Die lat. Parodie im Mittelalter* [Munich, 1922], pp. 21-2). For fuller information about Virgilius see Roger, pp. 110 ff., and Manitius, pp. 119-27. Virgilius's works have been edited by J. Huemer in the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* (Leipzig, 1886).

Aethicus the cosmographer. It purports to be a translation by no less a person than Jerome of a Greek original! Actually the book seems to have been written in some part of Gaul during the later Merovingian period and is a worthless fabrication put together from earlier writers. The so-called *Liber monstrorum de diversis generibus* is in a different category, since it does not pretend to be anything but what it is, namely an account of various fabulous creatures and monsters, compiled partly from earlier authors, who are fairly numerous, partly, it would appear, from local legends gathered by the unknown Frankish author. His use of rare writers like Quintus Curtius and Marcellinus Comes is noteworthy, and, like his distinctly superior Latin, characterizes him as a somewhat more erudite man than his contemporaries.¹

Historical composition, finally, is represented by the chronicle of the so-called Fredegarius and by the *Liber historiae Francorum*. The former work, as it has come down to us, is divided into four books. It is not, however, a uniformly constructed work, nor is it all from one hand. Critics have distinguished no less than three chroniclers in its pages. Only the last portion, from Book 4, chapter 40 to the end, has independent value historically, and, in the absence of other sources, cannot be neglected. The other parts of the work are in the main derivative. The authorities used include Jerome's *Chronicle*, Idacius, Isidore, Gregory of Tours, the so-called *Liber generationis* of Hippolytus, and some lost works, for example Burgundian annals. The chronicle extends to the middle of the seventh century. Its style is bald and without any literary quality. Classical Latin inflexions are kept, but many mistakes in gender and so forth occur. Also certain consonantal and vowel changes point in the direction of the gradual change from vulgar Latin to the Romance languages. Continuations to the book were composed during the course of the eighth century. Perhaps the one interesting phenomenon in Fredegarius for the general reader is that there appears for the first recorded time the legend of the Trojan origin of the Franks. Fantastic as such a belief now seems, it rapidly won popularity and it reappears elsewhere, for instance in the *Liber historiae Francorum*. The author of this compilation, written c. 727, who did not know Fredegarius, starts off with the Trojan legend, which may thus have by then

¹ The work was edited by M. Haupt in *Opuscula*, II, pp. 221 ff. Manitius (pp. 114-15) seems inclined to think that the author was an Irishman resident in Gaul.

been generally current in 'learned' circles. The *Book of the Franks* is a cento from earlier writers, especially Gregory of Tours. Only from the point at which Fredegarius stops does it become a source for Merovingian history which cannot be overlooked. Even so its historical like its literary merits are not of a high order. Soon after its publication it was worked over by another anonymous author. This revised or expanded book was in turn utilized by one of the writers who continued the *Chronicle* of Fredegarius. In this way was brought about some degree of fusion between two originally separate accounts of later Merovingian history. It may be added that the *Book of the Franks* was much read from the ninth century on.¹

England, who owed her intellectual renascence partly to the Irish and partly to Rome, from the middle of the seventh century sent forth missionaries beyond her borders. Partial attempts had already been made by Frankish missionaries to effect the conversion of Frisia, when Wilfrith visited that region in 678-9. Others followed, of whom by far the most notable was Willibrord. For more than forty years (c. 690-739), and in spite of many disappointments and difficulties, caused not only by the tenacity with which the inhabitants adhered to their old beliefs but by political conditions in a country striving to maintain its independence against Frankish aggression he laboured successfully in the regions bordering the Lower Rhine. His name is also associated with the important monastery of Echternach near Trèves, with which he was presented through the generosity of several donors. His biographer, Alcuin, also records an expedition made by Willibrord to convert the Southern Danes. Through gifts the monastery at Echternach also acquired possessions in Thuringia. It is thus apparent that the influence of this remarkable and devoted man extended over a very wide area. Another monastic foundation (724) destined to enjoy great influence and prosperity in the centuries that followed was Reichenau on a little island in the Lake of Constance in the region then known as Alemannia. Its founder and first abbot was Pirmin, whose nationality is doubtful. Responsible later for establishing other religious communities in Southern Germany, he is also known as an author. The *Dicta Pirminii* is a theologico-ethical treatise; its most interesting feature is the fact that Pirmin made considerable use of Martin of Bracara's sermon, which has been considered above in detail. However unsettled conditions on the European continent may

¹ For the text of these historical works see MGH. Script. Merov., II.

have been, intercommunications were not checked. We have noted the rapidity with which the works of Isidore spread to England. Virgilius Maro was used by Aldhelm and Pirmin is acquainted with a comparatively obscure Spanish writer. In the second half of the eighth century there are unmistakable signs that the St. Gall library contained Bible manuscripts written in Spain, while the writing in the St. Gall *scriptorium*, or rather the 'Raetic' script written there as well as in some other centres, shows North Italian influence.¹

But the most eminent of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries on the continent was Wynfrith, who was born c. 675 and seems to have been, like Aldhelm, a West Saxon. Dedicated at an early age by his parents as an oblate, he passed his life until he was well over forty years old as a learner and then as a teacher in the monastery of Nhutselle (Nutshalling near Winchester). A compilation on grammar and one on metrics, both no doubt intended for the use of his pupils, date from this period of his life. A number of verse riddles, modelled on but inferior to those of Aldhelm, have also survived, and some of these at least were not composed till after Wynfrith was established in Germany. The desire for a wider usefulness drove him in 716 to go as a missionary to Frisia. But, as the prospects of fruitful work there at that particular date were very uncertain, he returned to England. Before the end of 718 we find him in Rome. He was well received by Gregory II, who in May, 719, formally empowered him, under the new name of Bonifatius (Boniface), to proceed as a missionary to the heathen in Germany, although no special district was assigned to him for his activities. The remaining thirty-five years of his life Boniface spent first in the work of conversion and then in the arduous task of Church organization. A collection of more than one hundred letters, composed partly of Boniface's own epistles, partly of communications addressed to him, especially by successive popes, is both precious for its multifarious historical *data*, and, at least as far as the letters of Boniface himself are concerned, of great literary interest. Of the regions in which Boniface's work lay during the first part of his apostolate only Hesse was still all but untouched by Christianity. In Thuringia his chief task was to improve Church discipline and to correct laxity of observance. In Bavaria, too, questions of organization engaged his attention, and in 739 he was responsible for the creation of the four sees of Salzburg, Ratisbon, Freising, and Passau,

¹ See K. Loeffler in *Palaeographia Latina*, VI (1929), pp. 54 and 51.

which had been projected a good many years before by Gregory II. Boniface had received his first mandate in 719 and was elevated to the episcopal dignity in 722, not indeed as the occupant of a particular see but with a 'roving commission' over all Germany and the countries east of the Rhine. He was in frequent correspondence with Gregory II and his successors, and received the rank of archbishop from Gregory III in 732. Thus it was natural that his efforts were aimed at building up in the wide territories under his control a church organization that was in closer touch with Rome than either the English or the Gallican Churches were at that date. At the same time many of his helpers were fellow-countrymen, and he frequently sought the advice of prelates in England, which often proved more helpful than counsels from Rome. For a man like Daniel, bishop of Winchester, would be able with fair accuracy to gauge the character of the people amongst whom Boniface was active, whereas many of the problems confronting a missionary to the Teutonic peoples were remote from the experience of the Roman pontiff and his advisers.

The death of Charles Martel in 741 had weighty consequences for Boniface. The government of the Frankish kingdom was divided between Charles's two sons, Pippin and Carloman. The latter between 741 and 747, when he resigned his temporal authority and took monastic vows, regarded Boniface's work with sympathetic understanding, and desired in conjunction with him to put the ecclesiastical organization of the realm on a new and sounder basis. Thus during the last fourteen years of his life, first under Carloman, then under Pippin, who became governor of all the Franks in 747 and in 751 actually their king, Boniface was brought into close touch with the successors of the Merovingian monarchs. In spite of failures and disappointments, which find expression in his latest letters, he had done a great work both as an organizer and as a promoter of culture in the lands east of the Rhine. These regions were no longer partly heathen, partly quasi-isolated Christian areas, but through his achievement their ecclesiastical organization was assimilated to that in the Frankish kingdom, of which indeed they may be said before Boniface's death to have formed a part. Again through him, and the many clerics from England who assisted him, Anglo-Saxon culture was transplanted to Germany; from there in the succeeding age it was to become one of the chief causes for the Carolingian renaissance in the Frankish kingdom west

of the Rhine. There were many monasteries and nunneries with whose creation or reform Boniface was directly or indirectly connected, but none can compare in importance with Fulda. This abbey was founded in Hesse in 744 by Sturm, a favourite pupil of Boniface and its first abbot. The high hopes which Boniface, who did all he could to promote the undertaking, formed of it as a future centre of literature and learning in Germany proved within less than fifty years to be justified to the full. In 751 he wrote thus to Pope Zacharias :

There is a place situated amongst woods in a wide and lonely tract, yet in the midst of the nations to whom we are preaching. There we have founded a monastery and established monks who live under the rule of our father, Benedict, men given to the strictest abstinence, who renounce flesh, wine, mead, and serving-men, and are content with the labours of their own hands. . . . In this spot I propose, with the sanction of your Holiness, to rest and refresh my body wearied with age, be it for some time or but a little while, and to lie here after my death. For four peoples to whom by the grace of God we have preached Christ's word are known to dwell in a circle about this place. To them, with your intercession, I can be of service, whilst life and a sound mind remain.¹

Boniface's wish was only partially fulfilled. In 753, after he had requested Pippin that his devoted helper, Lullus, might succeed him as bishop of Mayence, he was seized with a longing to take up the work of conversion once more and made his way to the scene of his earliest missionary efforts, to Frisia. He was slain with some companions near Dockum on June 5, 754, by a band of heathen Frisians. His body was subsequently brought to Fulda and there interred. The variety of topics touched upon in the letters is considerable. There were numerous questions of discipline and observance about which Boniface consulted the Pope or his ecclesiastical friends in England or both. In some cases we have both his letters and the replies that they elicited. Incidentally there are not a few allusions to customs of the German tribes which were not in harmony with the teaching of the Church. For example, what attitude should be observed towards marriages between persons who, according to the strictest interpretation of the Roman Church, were within the prohibited degrees of kinship? What shall be done with Germans who consume meats prohibited by the dietary laws of the

¹ *Epist.*, 86. The letters have been published in MGH. *Epist.*, III, pp. 215 ff.

Old Testament? ¹ There are all too many references to the laxity and sometimes the active immorality of the clergy whom Boniface found in Thuringia and elsewhere, also to the survival or the recrudescence of pagan practices and superstitions in theoretically Christianized regions.² Sometimes light is also thrown on English customs and conditions. Thus, falconry was clearly a popular sport with English princes at this time. Boniface sends a gift of a hawk, two falcons, two shields, and two spears to King Ethelbald of Mercia, while Ethelbert II of Kent requests that Boniface may send him two trained falcons as these are scarce in his own kingdom.³ Boniface's epistle to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, in which the writer, unlike his usual practice, makes very extensive use of Biblical citations, touches on various abuses said to be rife in his native land—luxury in dress, drunkenness, immorality—and warns against the dangers attendant on pilgrimages to Rome undertaken by women.⁴ We see Boniface's anxiety to add to the presumably small stock of books at his disposal. He thanks Egbert of York for a gift of manuscripts, at the same time requesting that some of Bede's expository works be sent out to him.⁵ He makes a similar request to the abbot of Wearmouth.⁶ At another time he tries to obtain from England a copy of Gregory I's instructions to Augustine, and from Rome a selection of the same pope's epistles.⁷ To abbot Duddo, besides a general petition for manuscripts, he addresses a special plea for a commentary on the *Epistles* of St. Paul.⁸ In a somewhat pathetic note to Daniel, bishop of Winchester, Boniface prays that he may be given a *codex* of the Prophets written in uncial characters, since with failing eyesight he will be better able to read its large letters.⁹

In conclusion there is a passage in one of Pope Zaccharias's letters to Boniface which bears on a topic of some interest. An Irish monk, Fergil or Virgil, who had settled at Salzburg and was for many years (c. 746–784) bishop of that see, had become involved in several disputes with Boniface, so that at the beginning of 748 (the probable date of the Pope's letter) the relations between the two men were certainly strained. From the letter we learn that Virgil had been

¹ *Epist.*, 33 and 87.

³ *Epist.*, 69 and 105.

⁵ *Epist.*, 75 and 91.

⁷ *Epist.*, 33 and 54; cf. also 74.

⁹ *Epist.*, 34.

² E.g. *Epist.*, 50, 51, 80, 91.

⁴ *Epist.*, 78.

⁶ *Epist.*, 76.

⁸ *Epist.*, 63.

accused of heresy, inasmuch as he openly defended the belief in the sphericity of the earth and in the Antipodes. The Pope writes :

As for the perverse and sinful doctrine which he (Virgil) against God and his own soul has uttered—if it shall be clearly established that he professes the belief in another world and other men existing beneath the earth, or in (another) sun and moon there, thou art to hold a council, deprive him of his sacerdotal rank, and expel him from the Church.¹

Unhappily the passage is very brief and not free from obscurity. But as Virgil remained in possession of his bishopric evidently no further steps were taken against him, unless we are to suppose that he openly disavowed or modified his views. They were not new in any case, for he could, and probably did, find them in one or more earlier works to which he may well have had access, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Isidore, or even Bede. For Isidore refers to the belief in the Antipodes, but saves his orthodoxy by calling it a fable, while Bede, though he does not refer to that belief, approves of the doctrine that the earth is round.² The general belief of men in Virgil's day, and the only one sanctioned by orthodoxy, was that the earth is a flat disk. Virgil's dissentient opinion proves no more than that he, like others amongst his countrymen, was better read than most, and that he had some interest in scientific questions. There has in truth been a tendency to exaggerate the significance of an episode about which we know so little and which in any case had no aftermath.³ Virgil lived for many years more and was highly respected for his probity and learning ; moreover, he is mentioned with approval by so orthodox a man as Alcuin. If he really held the views attributed to him, so for a time did another and more eminent Irishman, John Scotus, in the next century. But John appears to have recanted later in life.⁴

¹ *Epist.*, 80—De perversa autem et iniqua doctrina, quae contra Deum et animam suam locutus est—si clarificatum fuerit, ita eum confiteri, quod alius mundus et alii homines sub terra sint seu sol et luna—hunc habito concilio ab ecclesia pelle, sacerdotii honore privatum.

² Isid., *Etym.*, 14, 5, 17 ; Bede, *De nat. rerum*, 46.

³ M. R. James (*Cambridge Mediaeval History*, III, p. 513) revives, without subscribing to, an old suggestion that Virgil may have been referring to an underground race. But there is nothing so strange in Virgil's interest in the Antipodes.

⁴ E. K. Rand, *Johannes Scottus*, pp. 20 ff., points out that John in his commentary on Martianus appears to favour the belief in the Antipodes, but in his commentary on Boethius's *Tractates* he rejects it.

PART III

THE CAROLINGIAN AGE

CHAPTER VII

THE REVIVAL OF EDUCATION AND LEARNING UNDER CHARLEMAGNE

BONIFACE died just before the epoch-making events which, inasmuch as they resulted in drawing much closer the bonds between the Frankish kingdom and the papacy at the cost of some subordination of the bishop of Rome to the northern monarch, would have won only his qualified approval. The year 751 was marked by two occurrences of great moment. The pope, Zacharias, died after his diplomatic skill had for more than a decade steered the papacy between the Scylla of the Lombard kingdom and the Charybdis of Constantinople, and the exarchate of Ravenna collapsed before the attacks of the Lombard ruler, Aistulf. Moreover, by demanding a head-tax from the Romans this prince intimated in no uncertain terms that he proposed to exercise his overlordship over them. The new pope, Stephen II (752-759), imitated Gregory III and appealed for Frankish aid. But whereas the reply of Charles Martel in 739 had been negative, the attitude of Pippin in 751 was more accommodating. After prolonged negotiations, during which the pope was the temporary guest of the Frank and in 754 repeated the solemn act, already performed by Boniface three years earlier, of anointing Pippin as king of the Franks, and two successful campaigns against the Lombards, in the autumn of 754 and again in 756, the pope was secured as the temporal ruler of a considerable papal state. The price of the newly acquired power and of freedom from interference by either Pavia or Constantinople was that the pope passed under the political protectorate of Pippin. Nor would it seem that he even influenced the ecclesiastical reforms which the Frankish monarch continued to carry through in his realm, preparing

the way all unconsciously for the greater reorganization effected by his son. On the death of Pippin the relations of the three states were once again complicated by the hostility between the two heirs to the Frankish dominions, Charles and Carloman, by the marriage of a Lombard princess to Charles and her subsequent repudiation by him, and by the preponderating influence temporarily won in Rome by a pro-Lombard faction. The death in 771 of Carloman left Charles sole ruler in Frankland. Pope Stephen III died at a critical moment when a rupture between Charles and the Lombards was imminent. His successor in the see of Peter, Hadrian I (772-795), from the first looked to the Frank as a protecting ally. Two years after his accession the fall of Pavia before the prolonged assaults of Charles brought the Lombard kingdom to an end. Its last ruler ended his days in the Frankish monastery of Corbie. The further operations of Charlemagne in Italy and his Italian policy during the next sixteen years, which to the world at large found its spectacular culmination in the imperial coronation on Christmas Day, 800, within the venerated walls of St. Peter's, lie outside the scope of this volume. But in 800 all western Christendom, save the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Offa and the narrow territories retained by Byzantium in Italy, was united under the sceptre of Charlemagne. And the two popes, Hadrian I and his successor, Leo III (795-816), although Charles regarded Rome and the spiritual authority of her bishop with deep veneration, were reconciled to the fact, however much it might be disguised under specious phrases, that they too were the vassals of the king-emperor. Charles himself gave to Leo III his own definition of the relation between his temporal power and the papacy in the following terms :

Sicut enim cum beatissimo patre praedecessore vestro sanctae compaternitatis pactum inii, sic cum beatitudine vestra eiusdem fidei et caritatis inviolabile foedus statuere desidero ; quatenus, apostolicae sanctitatis vestrae divina gratia advocata precibus, me ubique apostolica benedictio consequatur, et sanctissima Romanae ecclesiae sedes Deo donante nostra semper devotione defendatur. Nostrum est : secundum auxilium divinae pietatis sanctam ubique Christi ecclesiam ab incursu paganorum et ab infidelium devastatione armis defendere foris, et intus catholicae fidei agnitione munire. Vestrum est, sanctissime pater : elevatis ad Deum cum Moyse manibus nostram adiuvare militiam ; quatenus, vobis intercedentibus, Deo ductore et datore populus christianus super inimicos sui sancti nominis ubique semper habeat

victoriam, et nomen domini nostri Iesu Christi toto clarificetur in orbe.¹

We shall have occasion in a later chapter to note that not all those who in the ninth century turned their minds to political theory were prepared to approve such dependence of the Church on the State.²

Several centuries had gone by during which the Church had been the sole repository of education and letters, yet with what varying fortunes in the different countries of the West we have seen in the preceding chapters. Nowhere had the decay in Church and State been more all-pervading than in Gaul under the latest Merovingian rulers. The second ruler and first king of a new dynasty, Pippin, grasping that the reconstruction of Neustria and Austrasia must have as its pivotal point the regeneration of the Church, had entered on a vigorous policy of reform. Charles, adding by conquest extensively to the lands that he inherited, was confronted also with a vaster problem of reorganization. And in that empire, stretching from the Pyrenees to Saxony and from the Baltic to Central Italy, the Church was, so to say, the common denominator. Differences of race, customs, institutions, and language existed in the multiple parts of which Charles's realm was composed. But all its inhabitants professed a common creed, and the all-embracing Church was also potentially, and under Charlemagne actually, the common teacher of all.

Charles's many-sided genius was not content with possessing all the manly virtues in a pre-eminent degree nor yet with conquest. From the beginning of his reign he aimed to raise the cultural level of all his subjects, and, as their number grew, so his zeal for spreading education and improving the intellectual life of his people intensified. Since none but the clergy and the monasteries could give effect to his ambitious plans, his first care had needs to be to reform Church discipline and to ameliorate the educational qualifications of her ministers. At the same time he was active in securing a uniform liturgy and ritual in Church services. This meant more particularly that he had to bring the Gallican observance, which had developed to a marked extent on its own lines, into harmony with that of Rome; at the same time he carried further the measures taken by his father to better choir singing in the Frankish realm and even imported fresh teachers from Rome

¹ P. Jaffé, *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*, IV, p. 356.

² See below, page 265.

for this purpose. It is known that Pippin's chief helper in the reform of Church music was archbishop Chrodegang of Metz, whose cathedral school, organized on the lines of a Benedictine congregation, rapidly became famous. It is not so certain on whom Charles, apart from his general ordinances, mainly relied to make his plans effective. Since, however, his policy of Romanization applied not only to the chanting but to every part of the Church service, including the use of the Roman sacramentary and the Roman form of the baptismal rite, all of which entailed a drastic revision of the existing service books, we shall hardly err if we assume, in the absence of direct and explicit testimony, that Alcuin took a leading share in, perhaps directed, the work of reform. In view of the general illiteracy of even the higher Frankish clergy Charlemagne exerted himself to attract prominent scholars from other countries to his court. The grammarian, Peter of Pisa, and Paul the Deacon were Charles's honoured guests for several years; two other distinguished strangers, Alcuin of Northumbria and Theodulfus, a Visigothic exile from Spain, made the Frankish kingdom the land of their adoption.

In Alcuin Charles found combined most admirably all of the qualities which were requisite for one who, with the king's support, should take charge of a thorough scheme of ecclesiastical and cultural reconstruction. With Bede, English scholarship had reached its zenith. The memory and the educational methods of that great man were still fresh when Alcuin was a boy. For Egbert, who became archbishop of York a few months before Bede's death, had been his pupil and his friend, and it was under Egbert's personal guidance that the school of York was founded. It at once superseded Yarrow as the chief educational and literary centre in England; more than that, it was for nearly fifty years the leading home of culture in western Europe.¹ Thus, apart from his personal qualities, the training which Charles's future 'minister of education' received could not have been bettered.

Born soon after 730, Alcuin received his education at York, which could also boast of a library of exceptional richness. The master to whom he owed most—for he does not seem to

¹ The decline of Canterbury as an intellectual centre is mirrored in a letter from Alcuin to the archbishop of Canterbury, written in 797. Alcuin recommends certain reforms to Aethelhard 'ut per tuam diligentiam renovetur illius sanctae sedis dignitas'. See MGH. Epist., IV, No. 128.

have come much into direct contact with Egbert, although he speaks of him with respectful veneration—was Aelbert. This man, though not, it would appear, himself a writer, was evidently a teacher of most unusual gifts, in addition to having exceptionally wide interests. More especially he was indefatigable in further enriching the cathedral library entrusted to his care. Small wonder that his favourite pupil became the greatest educator of his age and cherished all his life a deep love for books. With Aelbert Alcuin went as a young man to the continent, passing through Frankish territory and visiting both Rome and Pavia. When Aelbert succeeded to the see of York (767), the main burden of teaching in the York school passed into Alcuin's hands. To this the direction of the library was added eleven years later, when Aelbert resigned his archbishopric in favour of Eanbald. In 781 the new archbishop showed his high confidence in Alcuin by sending him to Rome in order to receive Eanbald's *pallium* from the pope. On his return journey he passed through Parma where he was presented to Charles. He had already met the king in former years when travelling in company with Aelbert. The pressing invitation that he received from him to enter his service and take charge of the Palace school was accepted by Alcuin only after he had obtained the sanction of the Northumbrian king and of his archbishop. For the rest of his life Alcuin remained in the home of his adoption, although he paid two visits, one brief, in 786, one more prolonged, from 790 to 793, to England. Charles before long showed his appreciation of Alcuin's services by conferring on him the abbacies of Ferrières and Troyes. In 796, when Alcuin, wearied of his scholastic and other duties, had intimated his desire to return to the land of his birth, the king prevailed on him to remain in Neustria and bestowed on him the abbacy of St. Martin at Tours. Here the English scholar spent the last eight years of his life.

The long series of Charles's capitularies, extending over more than a quarter of a century, is eloquent proof of his constant care for the spiritual welfare of his people. But he could not have achieved his object, had he not insisted on an educated clergy. None could hope to attain to episcopal rank or to an abbacy, whose qualifications fell short of his exacting standards. And, in truth, the galaxy of able prelates which in his time filled the higher ecclesiastical offices was little short of unique. Amongst many others there stand out especially Theodulfus, Arn, and Leidrad, who respectively occupied the sees of Orléans, Salzburg, and Lyons, and abbots like Angilbert

at St. Riquier, Adalhard at Corbie, and, of course, Alcuin himself at Tours. But the simple priest, too, was required, before being ordained, to pass a test of fitness, which applied not only to his moral character but to his literacy. In that way only could a reverent and intelligent conduct of Church services be ensured. Moreover, as has already been observed, in the case of men like Martin of Braga or Caesarius of Arles, the importance and value of preaching to untutored mediaeval congregations lay not merely in exhortation to lead a religious and moral life, but in its awakening of the mental faculties. It is no surprise, then, to find Charles repeatedly stressing the need of good preachers, who, instead of always addressing their flock in the language of the Church, were permitted and even directed to use the vernacular, if their hearers were unable to follow in Latin. The *Admonitio generalis* of 789 gives expression to the wish that every member of a congregation should know by heart the Creed and the Lord's Prayer and should even be able to join in the singing of the *Sanctus* and the *Gloria Patri*.¹ To ensure this the priest would necessarily also be the instructor of his congregation. The *Epistola generalis* (between 786 and 800) refers at length to a shortage of suitable homilies for Church use, to the corrupt text of those available, and to their employment at the improper offices; it then goes on to recommend to all the clergy a homiliary specially compiled at Charlemagne's request by Paul the Deacon, who by that time had returned to his monastic life in Monte Cassino.² The Lombard scholar read through the treatises and sermons of divers Catholic Fathers, and, picking out the best, made a collection in two volumes of addresses sufficient for the whole year and proper for each occasion, as well as free from textual errors. Charles was no less anxious to raise the moral and intellectual standard in monastic houses, in many of which gross laxity and illiteracy had become prevalent in the late Merovingian period. At the same time uniform obedience to the *Rule* of St. Benedict was to be secured.³ Here again we meet with Charles's demand for a reliable text of a venerable and venerated document. On one of his visits to Italy he requested from the abbot of Monte

¹ MGH. Capit., 22, 70 and 82. Again, in a capitulary of 802, in the portion addressed to the people as a whole, we read: 'similiter et orationem dominicam quomodo intellegant; et ipsam orationem vel symboli sensum pleniter discant, et sibimet ipsis sciant et aliis insinuare praevalcant'.

² *op. cit.*, 30 (p. 80, line 25 to 81, 9).

³ Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 37; 161, 38; 164, 16.

Cassino a careful copy of the original manuscript of the *Rule* preserved there. When this reached him it became the exemplar from which further trustworthy copies could be made. One of these, written in the first quarter of the ninth century, still survives, the famous *Sangallensis* 914. It is the most authoritative text of the *Rule* on which all recent editions have been based.¹

Charlemagne's zeal for monastic education, to which so many of the capitularies bear witness, found its fullest expression in a communication addressed to the abbot of Fulda, Baugulf. Later on it was probably circulated generally amongst the leaders of the Church. Of this document, which hitherto was known only from a transcript of the late eleventh or early twelfth century, a contemporary copy exists in a manuscript preserved at Oxford. This version, which till lately had been overlooked, has now been deciphered by Lehmann.² The date to be assigned to it on palaeographical grounds agrees exactly with the internal evidence. Baugulf became abbot in 780; but Charles in the letter is not yet described as emperor, so that its composition must be prior to 800.³ This contemporary copy also shows some textual differences from the later version. Its contents are so important that a translation made from Lehmann's text may be conveniently given here.

Charles, by the grace of God, king of the Franks and Lombards and Roman patrician, to abbot Baugulf and the whole community, all our faithful clerics, in the name of Almighty God we send loving greeting. Be it known to your Devotion, which is pleasing to God, that we together with our faithful (counsellors) have deemed it expedient that, throughout the monasteries entrusted by Christ's favour to our government, in addition to the observance of monastic discipline and the practice of the religious life, in the exercise of letters also instruction should be vouchsafed to those who with God's help are able to learn, each according to his capacity; seeing that, even as the monastic rule directs purity of conduct, so practice in teaching and learning directs and orders the composition of words, to the end that those who strive to please God by right

¹ See especially L. Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti* (revised edition by H. Plenkens, 1910) in the *Abhandlungen* of the Bavarian Academy. A short but useful survey will be found in B. Linderbauer's edition of the *Rule* (ed. 2; 1928).

² Paul Lehmann, *Fuldaer Studien, Neue Folge*, in *Sitzungsberichte*, Bavarian Academy, 1927.

³ There seem to be no satisfactory grounds for assigning the date, 787, to the letter, as some modern critics have done.

living may not omit to please Him also by right speaking. For it is written, 'either thou shalt be justified of thy words or condemned of thy words'; and though it is better to do what is right than to know it, yet knowledge must precede action. In truth each ought to learn what he desires to fulfil, that, the more the tongue vies in the praises of Almighty God without the offences of untruths, the more richly the soul may understand what it ought to do. For, as it is agreed that all men must avoid untruth, how much more ought they to abjure falsehood to the best of their power who are approved and chosen to this very end, that they should specially serve truth.

Since in these years there were often sent to us from divers monasteries letters in which was set forth the zeal on our behalf in holy and pious prayers of the brethren dwelling there, we have observed in very many of the aforesaid writings of the same persons right sentiments and uncouth language. For that which pious devotion faithfully dictated inwardly, outwardly, owing to neglect of learning, the untutored tongue could not express without faultiness. Whence it came that we began to fear lest, as skill in writing was less, wisdom to understand the Sacred Scriptures might be far less than ought rightly to be the case. And we all know that, though verbal errors are dangerous, errors in interpretation are far more dangerous. Wherefore we exhort you not only not to neglect the study of letters but even with the most humble God-approved earnestness to vie in learning, so that you may prevail more easily and rightly in penetrating the mysteries of sacred literature. For, inasmuch as in the sacred pages are found embedded phrases, figures, tropes, and other like forms of speech, no one can doubt that every one in reading those the more quickly understands (what he reads) in a spiritual sense the more fully he has before been instructed in the discipline of literature. Let then such men be chosen for this task as have willingness, ability to learn, and the desire to teach others.

And let this be done in its entirety with zeal as great as the earnestness with which we exhort you. For we are making you, as befits soldiers of the Church, inwardly devout, outwardly learned, chaste in living a good life, scholars in speaking well, so that, whoever for the name of God and the glory of the monastic life shall seek you out to see you, even as his eyes may be edified by your appearance so too his ears may be instructed by your wisdom, which he shall discern in your reading and singing. And he who had come only to see, may, instructed by what he has seen and heard, depart in gladness giving thanks to Almighty God. That this might be so, we exhort you (*or*, we desire you) to let no monk dispense justice outside the monastery or go abroad to meetings and to courts.

The Palace school over which Alcuin presided from 782 was the apple of Charles's eye. Its scholastic standards were to

be high enough to incite monastic and cathedral schools to emulation ; actually it became also a seminary in which many of the ablest teachers of the next generation were trained. When not away on a distant campaign, and when the pressure of state affairs was momentarily relaxed, the king himself might attend the school, praising the diligent, reproving the sluggard, and perhaps himself engaging in a spirited dialogue with the chief master. It is to be regretted that we have no precise information concerning the organization of the Palace school. It was not a creation of Charles, for some such establishment seems to have existed since the days of Charles Martel. But before Charlemagne's reforms its purpose was more narrow and its membership more limited, existing, in fact, merely to train the royal princes and sons of the highest nobility in knightly virtues. Charlemagne's aims were far wider. It was intellectual training that he desired to stress, the very thing which before had been all but omitted ; at the same time he did not confine membership to the immediate court circle. Where the pupils were of varying ages, some being adolescents, others of maturer years, it is obvious that Alcuin and other teachers, whether permanent or temporary, like Peter of Pisa, could not have followed the strict regimentation of a school intended only for boys. As to the methods of teaching, the safest guide is furnished by Alcuin's own educational writings. They are all in dialogue form ; the information that they impart is distinctly elementary and, in the main, is derived from the stock authors of an earlier age. Donatus, Cassiodorus, Priscian, Bede, Isidore, and Phocas were used in the treatises on grammar and on orthography. The *De rhetorica* relies primarily on Cicero's *De inventione*, with additions from Julius Victor and probably Cassiodorus. These authors were also used for the *De dialectica*, which in the first instance is based on Boethius and Isidore. There are, too, additions from the so-called *Categories* of Aristotle, a work included amongst the spurious writings of Augustine, Cicero's *Topica* and Victorinus. Finally two places suggest some acquaintance with Quintilian.¹ The brief dialogue entitled, *Pippini regalis et nobilissimi iuvenis disputatio cum Albino scholastico*, which is also borrowed in part from earlier sources, is not a formal text-book, but illustrates the more familiar type of conversation which master and pupil might hold and which would serve to sharpen the wits of the learner. As an example of Alcuin's method we

¹ On these sources cf. P. Lehmann in *Philologus*, 74 (1917), pp. 362 ff.

may quote a passage from this and one from the *De rhetorica et virtutibus*. In the former the young Pippin asks the questions, Albinus (*i.e.* Alcuin) replies, thus :

Pippinus. What is a letter ?

Albinus. The guardian of history.

P. What is a word ?

A. The mind's betrayer.

P. What creates the word ?

A. The tongue.

P. What is the tongue ?

A. Something which whips the air.

P. What is the air ?

A. The protection of life.

P. What is life ?

A. The joy of the blessed, the sorrow of sinners, the expectation of death.

P. What is death ?

A. An unavoidable occurrence, an uncertain journey, the tears of the living, the confirmation of the testament, the thief of man.

P. What is man ?

A. The slave of death, a passing wayfarer, the guest of a place.

P. To what is man like ?

A. A fruit.¹

P. How is man situated ?

A. Like a lamp in the wind.

P. Where is he situated ?

A. Within six walls.

P. Which ?

A. Above, below, before, behind, right and left.

P. In how many ways doth he vary ?

A. In hunger and satiety, repose and labour, in wakeful hours and sleep.

P. What is sleep ?

A. The image of death.²

* * * * *

P. What is faith ?

A. Sure belief in an unknown and wondrous thing.

P. What means 'wondrous' ?

A. I lately saw a man standing, a dead man walking, even one who never was.

P. How can that be ? unfold to me.

A. A likeness reflected in the water.

P. Why did not I myself understand this, seeing that I have seen it so many times ?

¹ The play on words in this question and answer, *homo* and *pomo*, can not be reproduced in English.

² PL., 101, col. 975C-D.

A. Since thou art a youth of good abilities and natural gifts, I will put before thee some other wonders (*i.e.* riddles). Try if thou canst guess them of thyself.

P. I will do as thou sayest; yet on condition that, if I reply other than rightly, thou mayest correct me.

A. I will do as thou wishest. A certain unknown man conversed with me with tongue and voice, one who never existed before and who will never be hereafter; and it is one whom I heard not nor know.

P. Did a dream disturb thee, master?

A. Even so, my son. Now, hearken to another. I have seen the dead create the living and the dead consumed by the breath of the living.

P. From the rubbing together of sticks fire is born which consumes them.¹

It will be noted that variety is introduced in the second part by reversing the rôles of the speakers. The answers all through betray that fondness for verbal enigmas which was so characteristic of the more educated men in the Middle Ages, while the short questions in the early part of the dialogue irresistibly recall the maddening iteration with which the very young and precocious have in all ages verbally assaulted their elders!

In the following passage it will be seen that the speakers are Charles himself and Alcuin. The latter in the earlier part of the dialogue is the questioner; in the portion cited, however, it is his turn to take over the exposition.

Carolus. Expound the nature of justice.

Albinus. Justice is a state of mind which assigns to each thing its proper worth. In it the cult of the divine, the rights of mankind, and the equitable state of the whole of life are preserved.

C. Unfold its parts also.

A. Justice proceeds in part from natural right, partly from customary use.

C. How does it proceed from natural right?

A. Because a certain natural force engenders its parts, namely, religion, dutifulness (*pietas*), gratitude, requital (*vindicatio*), observance, truth.

C. Explain each of these more clearly.

A. Religion is that which pays heed and rites to a nature, which men call divine, of some superior Being. Dutifulness is that through which one bestows on blood relatives and well-wishers of one's country service and loving homage. Gratitude is the quality in which is contained the remembrance of friendships and good offices of one's neighbour and the wish to reward him.

¹ *ibid.*, 978 B-C.

Requital is that by which right and injury and everything that meets us is by defence or retribution advanced. Observance is the quality with which we deem those who are our superiors in worth worthy of a certain degree of veneration and honour. Truth is that through which what is, what has been, and what will be, is denoted.

C. How is justice which proceeds from customary use maintained?

A. By contract, by equity, by judgement, and by law.

C. I would fain hear more about these also.

A. Contract is an agreement between persons. Equity is that which is fair towards all. Judgement is what is established by the opinions of a prominent man or of several. Law is right written down for all the people (stating) of what it is their duty to beware and what to hold fast.¹

It may be conceded that Alcuin's educational treatises are not, judged by any standards, remarkable; indeed, they are mediocre. That he was, nevertheless, a very great teacher is beyond dispute. For the list of those who were his pupils, either in the Palace school, or, after 796, at Tours, is not only long, but contains many famous names, amongst them Einhard and Hrabanus Maurus. Moreover, wherever the pupil's opinion of the master has survived, we find Alcuin spoken of in terms of affectionate and grateful admiration. With a ruler of vigorous mind, who expected his relatives and his nobles to cultivate the same wide interests as himself, and with a throng of theologians, teachers, and writers from every land present as the king's welcome guests, it was natural that the court should be the scene of great intellectual activity. It is nevertheless unfortunate that the name 'academy' has sometimes been applied to the quite informal gatherings of monarch, nobility, and scholars. For a title of that kind is no more applicable to the *litterati* of the Carolingian court than to any other group of writers and artists brought together before or since that time by the patronage of an enlightened prince. The members of the inner circle were distinguished by soubriquets taken from Biblical literature or from the great figures of classical antiquity. By these they addressed one another when they exchanged epistles in verse or prose on a variety of topics. Thus, Charles himself was called David, Alcuin Flaccus, Einhard Beseleel, Paulinus of Aquileia Timotheus, and so forth. On the more serious occasions antiquarian or dogmatic questions might come up for discussion; at other times a lighter tone prevailed. Then

¹ PL., 101, col. 944 B-C.

riddles, poems, or exchanges of witty repartee would amuse, as it would test the mental alertness of, those present. At the dinner table, too, Charles would have extracts read aloud from ecclesiastical or historical authors. Charlemagne himself had a great interest in astronomy, and, after Alcuin had retired to Tours, the two continued their discussions about the stars and the calendar by letter. We shall have occasion, too, to note that certain Irish scholars with scientific interests were for a time at the Frankish court. The picture, imperfect though it be, which can thus be reconstructed, from the poems and letters of Alcuin and from the poems of Theodulfus, of the intellectual amusements of the court circle—in a sense it may also be regarded as an outgrowth or by-product of the Palace school where Charles himself and other adults on occasion attended—is as attractive as it is unique. It did not last because its life depended on the personality of the central royal figure. When we turn from the Palace school to educational centres at large throughout the Frankish dominions, we find, indeed, no satisfactory proof of a plan of universal elementary education, such as has sometimes been attributed to Charlemagne. Compared, however, with conditions in the preceding centuries the extent to which education was available was truly astonishing. It is unhappily true also that the phenomenon was ephemeral. The insistence on the instruction of catechumens, so that all persons should at least know the basic articles of the Christian faith was one step in the direction of universal education. In certain dioceses, moreover, we find exceptionally enlightened or zealous bishops striving to go considerably beyond this minimum. Theodulfus, for example, in Orléans ordained that in every village and on every estate priests should arrange for schools to which any Christian father might send his children to learn their letters without payment of a fee. The Council of Mayence in 813 recommended the sending of children to school, 'either to monasteries or outside to priests'. An even stronger recommendation, that 'each person should send his son to learn his letters, and that the boy abide there with all diligence till he emerge well trained', is attested for Bavaria. The Bishop of Lyons, Leidrad, in reporting how he has laboured to carry out the various ordinances or wishes of the Emperor, amongst other things records the establishment of schools. Scattered as such allusions in contemporary writings undoubtedly are, they at least serve to show that Charles was able to inspire his episcopate with much of his own enthusiasm.

More advanced studies, whether theological or secular, were taught in cathedral schools and in the monasteries. The immediate aims of these two types of educational centre were not the same. For in the cathedral or collegiate churches the primary purpose was to train a sufficient number of young persons, so that there should be no lack of clergy, readers, and singers. Moreover, we find Alcuin in a letter addressed to Eanbald, Archbishop of York, advocating that pupils be separated into three groups, each with its proper teacher, namely into readers, singers, and copyists or scribes. He makes a similar recommendation to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Aethelhard.¹ Since Alcuin gave this advice to an Archbishop of York, it seems clear that the classification which he recommends was not in force when he himself was a pupil there. We may suppose that his experience with larger educational problems in the Frankish kingdom had taught him that with the material with which he had to work, and adequately to satisfy the different needs of the churches, specialization was the best solution. Certainly this method had weighty consequences. For it meant that after the elements, which would be the same for all, had been learnt, the pupils concentrated on becoming expert in one field. This plan was also successfully followed in some monasteries. The result was that certain centres became famous for a certain speciality. Thus the cathedral school at Metz and the abbey of St. Vandrille were noted for their singing, the former being the chief music school in the Empire. While the copying of manuscripts was from Charlemagne's time sedulously practised in many places, certain monastic houses were distinguished above the rest for their *scriptoria*. But, although the tuition in the monasteries might in some respects fulfil the same purposes as that in the cathedral schools, the most important part of it, nevertheless, had a different end. The monastic life aimed at Christian perfection not in, but apart from, the world. And, though it was not unessential to educate the young who had been dedicated to the religious life so that they became efficient copyists or could take their

¹ MGH. Epist., IV, No. 114—*praevideat sancta sollertia tua magistros pueris, clero segregentur separatim more illorum qui libros legant, qui cantilene inserviant, qui scribendi studio deputentur. Habeas et singulis his ordinibus magistros suos, ne, vacantes otio, vagi discurrant per loca vel inanes exerceant ludos vel aliis mancipentur ineptiis.* Truly the nature of boys, even choirboys, changes little through the centuries! The letter to Aethelhard is No. 128 in the same volume.

part properly in the musical portions of the liturgy, it was mainly the monasteries which were the centres of higher learning and especially of theology. Expressed in another way, it might be said that the aim of the cathedral schools was more definitely vocational or practical; the monastic schools, while they did not neglect that side of education, in preparing their pupils had a more purely spiritual purpose.

When Alcuin became abbot of the monastery of St. Martin at Tours he was well past sixty; his health was indifferent and his eyesight failing. Yet, although his life for much of the time was quieter than it had been when he was at the court, his fame and that of Tours brought constant visitors as well as many disciples. And there were many matters to occupy his mind and to sap his strength. It was in these years that he wrote his tracts and letters against the Adoptionists, some, if not all, his Biblical commentaries, and his dogmatic treatise on the Trinity. At the same time he kept up a vast miscellaneous correspondence with the Emperor, with friends, and with many former pupils. The library at Tours had his constant attention. Evidently when he came there its books were relatively few. With Charlemagne's permission therefore he dispatched some of his monks to York, so that they might obtain, from what was still the best library in western Europe, copies of many works which the Frankish library lacked. The history of the writing schools of St. Martin and of the neighbouring abbey of Marmoutier before Alcuin's time is obscure. It is possible that their beginnings reach back to the sixth century. Of their great activity under Alcuin's abbacy there is no doubt, although it is less certain whether he was himself responsible for reforming the script of Tours which in the following generation exercised so wide an influence on other *scriptoria*.¹ Certainly he had difficulties to contend against. An adequate system of punctuation had to be introduced, and his allusion to 'daily fights with the rusticity of Tours' shows that his task was no easy one.²

Another undertaking of far-reaching consequence with which Alcuin's name has been associated on very slender evidence is the revision of the Vulgate, carried out by Charle-

¹ The latest investigator, E. K. Rand, argues strongly for an Alcuinian reform of the script. Even so, in the absence of direct and explicit testimony, his arguments cannot be regarded as conclusive. See his *Studies in the Scripts of Tours, I. A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), pp. 38 ff.

² MGH. Epist. IV, No. 172, written in 799: 'cum Turonica cotidie pugno rusticitate'.

magne's orders. Innumerable corruptions had crept into the sacred texts owing to the ignorance of Merovingian clergy and scribes. The task of collation and correction undertaken by the monarch's command was the more difficult because the venerable *codices* that had to be read were for the most part written in an unfamiliar uncial hand. The correct punctuation would present difficulties also, and often enough words faded to the point of illegibility would still further complicate the copyists' task. Finally it is important to remember that there existed different textual traditions at this date, so that there was, for instance, considerable disparity between Irish and Anglo-Saxon bibles and those in use in Spain, while all three exhibited striking differences from the Italian. In part this lack of uniformity resulted from the slowness with which Jerome's version was adopted in the West, and from contamination with the old Latin translations which continued to survive and were sometimes used long after the Hieronymic Bible was in official use. A letter of Alcuin, dated 800, relates that he is busy amending the Old and New Testament.¹ The following year he dispatched to the Emperor 'a gift of the sacred books brought together into one holy and noble volume and carefully emended'.² There have also survived from his pen verse dedications to four bibles written under his direction.³ When it is remembered that Alcuin was Charlemagne's chief adviser not only in educational but in theological and liturgical matters, it is surely not rash to assume, even if direct evidence is lacking, that he took a sufficiently important part in this labour of textual criticism to justify the name, 'Alcuinian recension', which has so often been applied to this undertaking of the Carolingian age. Existing manuscripts of later date prove that uniformity had not been attained; indeed such a thing would have been impossible in Alcuin's day. But the Carolingian revision did arrest the progress of corruption and established a norm; those two achievements were of the utmost value.

¹ MGH. Epist., IV, No. 195.

² *ibid.*, No. 205.

³ See MGH. Poet., I, pp. 362 ff.

CHAPTER VIII

CAROLINGIAN EDUCATION AND THE SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS

ALTHOUGH there is such abundant general testimony to the zeal for education of Charlemagne and, in a more restricted degree, of his successors during the ninth century, there is not a little uncertainty regarding the details of educational practice. Where fuller information on this or that aspect of the subject is available, it too often applies only to a single institution. Obviously there is a danger in generalizing from particulars; for, although it may truly be said that the aim of all monasteries and of their schools was in a broad way the same, we cannot postulate even approximate uniformity of procedure in educational matters. Still less would it be true to assume that there existed then, any more than there exists now, a uniform standard of achievement.

The regulations and admonitions of Charles the Great applied, as we saw, to every type of school. A well-known capitulary of Louis the Pious, promulgated in 817, on the other hand lays down expressly that 'in the monasteries there shall be no school save for those who are oblates'.¹ This regulation, by which teaching in religious houses was confined to those who were vowed to the religious life was only one of the many measures which together made up Benedict of Aniane's programme of monastic reform. Yet twelve years later we find the bishops making a united appeal to the same monarch at the imperial Diet of Worms to establish three *scholae publicae*, because of the sensible decline in education throughout the Empire. The meaning of this has been much disputed. The proposed provision can hardly have been for purely ecclesiastical purposes. Three establishments would be quite insufficient for the training of priests; besides, the needful provision for training the clergy continued to be made at the more important cathedrals. It seems most natural to interpret *scholae publicae* to mean three imperial schools

¹ MGH. Capit., I, pp. 344 ff., para. 36.

similar to the Palace school of Charlemagne.¹ In any case the bishops' request appears to have fallen on deaf ears. In 826 a Roman synod had issued the following ordinance respecting lay education :

From certain places it has been brought to our notice that there is an absence of teachers and of interest in the study of letters. Consequently, in all bishoprics and the parishes subordinated to them, and elsewhere that it may be necessary, careful and diligent measures shall be taken to appoint teachers and learned persons who, being conversant with letters, the liberal arts, and sacred theology, are regularly to teach these subjects, because in them above all the divine ordinances are made clear and manifest.²

This seems to echo the *Admonitio generalis* issued nearly forty years earlier by Charlemagne. In 825 a capitulary of Lothar throws light on the difficulty of providing general education for all in Northern Italy. The king fixed nine centres, at each of which pupils from a number of neighbouring towns or districts could attend school.³ Again we do not know whether this measure could be made effective in practice, nor, if it was, whether with any degree of permanence.

In spite of all, the elaborate schemes formed by Charlemagne to provide elementary education for all had scarcely survived his death, and the sporadic efforts made in different regions by his successors to carry them on, even if they had produced lasting results, were but a poor substitute for the universality of Charles's plans. On the other hand, the restriction placed, under the influence of Benedict of Aniane's reforming zeal, on the teaching in the monasteries was ignored, or rather, was circumvented. For in some of the larger religious houses at least provision was made for instructing those who were not dedicated to the religious life. It may be that the term, *nutriendus*, had acquired a technical meaning, signifying a monastic pupil who was not an oblate.⁴ At all events it is clear from the decision of 817, quite apart from Charlemagne's earlier and more general recommendations, that the monasteries before that date provided tuition for other than

¹ This is the interpretation favoured by von Schubert (p. 720), although it smacks a little of hyperbole to call this a scheme for imperial Frankish universities (reichsfränkischen Universitätsplan).

² MGH. Concil., II, p. 581, 7 ff.

³ MGH. Capit., II, I, p. 327, 4 ff.

⁴ So W. Kalberer (*Die Anfänge der Schule des Benediktinerordens*, pp. 28-9), who relies, however, too much on the statements of comparatively recent Benedictine interpreters of the *Rule*.

pueri oblati. In the course of the ninth century the ordinance of Louis was interpreted in such a way that the oblates and the other pupils were kept separate and taught in different places. This arrangement is most clearly demonstrable at St. Gall, where, after the completion of the new buildings, the oblate school (*schola claustrī*) was inside the monastery proper and on the east, while the *schola exterior* was one of the outer buildings on the north.¹ The mediaeval historian of the monastery relates that at the end of the ninth century the masters of the inner school were Marcellus, Notker Balbulus, and others, while Iso and Salomon were in charge of the outer or 'canonical' school.² Did the school of St. Peter, situated a little way from the abbey of Corbie, serve only as a *schola exterior*? We must either suppose this or else assume that the rule which kept oblates, like the other religious, within the monastery walls was relaxed by the abbots of the famous convent.³ In view of the absence of definite information it is impossible to determine how many monasteries resembled St. Gall in maintaining two educational establishments. The evidence for the existence of an outer and an inner school, each with its own master, at St. Hubert in the Ardennes belongs to the eleventh century. But as the monastery was re-established on the site of an older foundation in 825, its educational activities may well go back to the Carolingian age. A further consequence of this uncertainty is that it must remain doubtful how far the curriculum in the *schola claustrī* and the *schola exterior* was the same. The elementary stages—learning to read from the Psalter, the memorization of its contents, and the first lessons in writing—would be the same for both; both, too, would, as a preparation for the part the pupils had to take in the church services, offer some musical instruction. At St. Gall, and doubtless elsewhere, Latin had to be spoken by all except the youngest boys at all times. Lapses into the vernacular were severely punished. Again the discipline in both schools was equally severe, although there were, even in the ninth century, teachers who, like Notker Balbulus, so far disregarded the all but universal custom of the age as to dispense with the birch as

¹ See the reproduction of the ninth century plan in DACL., VI, facing p. 87.

² *Casus S. Galli* (ed. Meyer von Knonau), 2, 11.

³ The evidence is from the *Life of Anskar* (MGH. SS., II, p. 687), later famous as Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen. When he was a master at St. Peter, he had to go from and return to the *claustra*, i.e. the abbey of Corbie.

an aid to learning. On the other hand, out of school hours the boys of the outer school enjoyed somewhat more latitude, since they did not live under strict monastic rules. In a later age the existence of a *schola exterior* was sometimes deplored by monastic reformers, because its members might exert an unsettling or even a vicious influence on the oblates. In a well-conducted monastery, nevertheless, like St. Gall in the ninth century, the two schools and their inmates were kept strictly separate. The boys of the outer school were ordinarily not admitted within the precincts of the abbey proper.

If the primary purpose of the *schola claustrī* was to prepare for the religious life and for the study of theology, it is certain that in many convents the liberal arts were not neglected. The truth would seem to be that, though there were always some who desired Gregory the Great's ban on secular learning to be put into effect, the majority of teachers and prelates took the more reasonable line of seeing in the study of the arts a valuable means to an end. Their attitude, we may suppose, was not unlike that of Bede or Cassiodorus to the works of heretical commentators. The former had aptly quoted Vergil in this connexion, bidding the boys 'to pluck the flowers and fruits but beware of the lurking snake'; the other more tersely, if less elegantly, cited Vergil's supposed reply to an interlocutor anxious to know why the great poet read his predecessor, Ennius: 'I am looking for gold in a dung-heap'.¹ When Smaragdus was urged by his pupils to illustrate his commentary on Donatus with quotations from the Bible rather than from pagan authors, he did so not without protest. To him theology was one study and grammar another; there was no need for one to impinge upon the other. To Lupus the occupation with pagan authors was an end in itself. Yet he was also a model abbot and sound churchman. Hadoard salved his conscience by bowdlerizing his Cicero extracts and asking for his compilation to be destroyed, lest it fall into the hands of those whose faith might be undermined by reading it. At the opposite extreme to a Lupus or even a Hadoard are Paschasius Radbertus and the Spaniard, Paulus Albarus. Yet these two severe critics of profane literature and of the liberal arts were condemning, even as earlier detractors had done, a mental discipline and portions of a literature to which they were indebted for much of their own intellectual equipment. Radbertus in the preface to the

¹ See Bede, *Works* (ed. Giles), IX, p. 186, with quotation of *Eclogue*, 3, 92-3, and Cassiodorus, *Instit.*, I, 1.

third book of his commentary on Matthew puts even Vergil under the ban :¹

We do not treat of Vergil's 'arms and a man', finding our condiment in the Greek salt of fables, but from the fountain of the Holy Spirit as we search with Christ's help into the meaning of the catholic fathers, we desire to expound for the ears of our people what we understand in the Scriptures. It is not with tragic dutifulness (*pietas*) that we soothe the reader, nor do we seek to burden him with the asses' load of the comic poets; we unlock in simple discourse, according to our natural ability, what in those same Scriptures is touched with the divine breath. Hence even if certain of our friends take pleasure in Vergil's lines, because, as they say, he would wish to signify by 'arms' virtue and by 'man' wisdom, and so on for all that follows,² they should find even greater delight in the matter which we are setting ourselves to handle. There the unsurpassable virtue and wisdom of God our Father, in order that they might marshal Christian soldiers against the aerial powers, first advanced from the fountain of baptism to the desert like a leader of a host setting out for battle.

Several of Paulus Albarus's letters touch even more sternly on this subject. He was acquainted with the views of Jerome, from whose letters to Magnus and to Eustochium he quotes, Augustine, and Gregory I. The following passage would surely have delighted the great pope :³

Because at that time, whoever occupied himself with verse, for the beauty of the language and as a means to eloquence, was a slave to the false teaching of the gentiles; inasmuch as men read Vergil's *Aeneid*, and wept over Dido's destruction, how she compassed her death with the sword, or the insult of beauty spurned, read, too, of the honours paid to ravished Ganymede, the treacherous gift of Minerva, and the deception of cruel Juno. That Christian men might not be sullied by such errors and foulness (the Christian poets) had forethought to sing Christ's miracles in verse.

In another letter he refers contemptuously to the *Iliad* and *Aeneid*, to 'the milky stream of Livy' and 'Demosthenes' viper's tongue'.⁴ Most remarkable of all is a diatribe against all the liberal arts, which, as it is little known, deserves to be cited in full :⁵

¹ For the Latin text see MGH. *Epist.*, VI, p. 143, 6-16.

² He means the allegorizing of Vergil's epic in the manner advocated by the mythographer Fulgentius. For the particular passage cf. Fulgentius (ed. Helm), p. 87.

³ *Epist.*, 4, 10 (PL., 121, col. 433A).

⁴ *Epist.*, 14, 2 (col. 479A). Is the *lacteus amnis* a reminiscence of Quintilian's *lactea ubertas*?

⁵ *Epist.*, 5, 4 (col. 451B-C).

'In the beginning was the word and the word was with God, and God was the word. The same was in the beginning with God' (John i. 1). This the learned Plato knew not, of this the eloquent Tully had no thought, into this fiery Demosthenes never inquired. The tortuous briar bushes of Aristotle have it not, nor is it found in the sinuous subtleties of Chrysippus. The art of Donatus has not searched into this by the rules of art nor yet has the rank¹ discipline of all the grammarians. The geometricians, named after the earth, follow what is earthy and dusty. The rhetoricians, wordy and redundant, have filled the air with empty wind. The dialecticians, bound fast by rules and entangled on all sides by syllogisms, crafty and cunning, are deceitful spinners of words rather than builders of the art of speech. The mathematicians have striven to search into the causes of numbers, but they cannot perceive their substance, how much less can they express it in words. The musicians, empty blowers, have pursued the gusty breaths of winds and have never been able to direct their pinions to the truth of that art of music. Now, too, the astrologers have wished to soar heavenwards, but so conspicuously have they failed to mount thither led by their idols that they rather placed earthly reason in heaven than heavenly reason on earth. For the while they have set rams and bulls, scorpions and crabs, lions and bears, she-goats and fishes in the realm of the sky, they have done naught but raise up earthly things into celestial. For they are ignorant of the nature of heaven, they have sought after fame to dispute rashly what they know not. Yet they have produced nothing worthy of fame, since they have probed into these matters with the help of a human, not a divine spirit.

The liberal arts formed themes for art and poetry. Their personification as female figures, each with her appropriate attribute or symbol, goes back to Martianus Capella's fantastic treatise. In the Carolingian age, as it would seem, they were first represented artistically, although no examples from this date have survived.² Theodulfus of Orléans, however, composed a poem describing the ornamentation of a circular plaque or table-top. It consisted of portrayals of the seven arts together with certain other abstractions, like *Ethica*, *Prudentia*, and *Justitia*. Each figure had its attributes; for example, Grammar was armed with whip and shears, the one to spur on the lazy, the other to prune faults, while Justice

¹ The printed text gives *oliva*, which makes nonsense. The word must be *olida*.

² For pictorial and plastic representation of the liberal arts in the Middle Ages generally see the valuable section in K. Künstle, *Ikono-graphie der christlichen Kunst* (Freiburg i.B., 1928), I, pp. 145-56.

appeared with scales and sword.¹ The poem of the Irish Dungal on the seven Arts and Medicine is usually held to depict a series of painted figures in the Palace school at St. Denis. It is made up of eight stanzas, each of six elegiac couplets.² While Theodulfus was indebted for some of his definitions to Martianus, the Irishman took his from Isidore's *Etymologies*. Among the mural paintings with which some parts of the abbey of St. Gall were decorated in the middle of the ninth century by artists from Reichenau was one portraying the Divine Wisdom as a mother in the circle of her daughters, the seven Arts. This is known from a descriptive poem in a St. Gall *codex*.³ There are a number of other verses which do not indeed describe actual works of art, but which were written—often, no doubt, as school exercises—in honour of the personified subjects of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*. Thus there exist eight four-line couplets on Wisdom and the seven Arts composed probably before the end of the eighth century.⁴ A St. Gall manuscript of the eleventh century contains amongst other poems, some of which are probably of Carolingian date, one on the liberal arts, while a ninth-century *codex*, now at Berne, preserves for us four long stanzas, one on each of the four branches of the *quadrivium*. Both of these compositions are based largely on Martianus.⁵ The great popularity of this author's *Nuptials of Mercury and Philology* is attested by its not infrequent presence in library catalogues, although the four oldest extant manuscripts were all written in the tenth century. However, the book, which contained many difficulties in language and subject matter for a ninth-century student, called forth lengthy expositions, notably by Irish scholars with whom Martianus was an

¹ MGH. Poet., I, pp. 544-47.

² *op. cit.*, pp. 408-10.

³ See Künstle, *op. cit.*, p. 147. The exact site of this painting is disputed. Künstle argues that it was within the church and that the monks of St. Gall were the first to introduce the seven Liberal Arts into a sacred edifice. This may well be; but his further comment on the gift of Hadwig is obscure, since it reads as though the ninth-century artists of the painting had derived inspiration from an embroidery of the late tenth century!

⁴ MGH. Poet., I, pp. 629-30. Their authorship is doubtful. The editor prints them as an appendix to Theodulfus and notes that, according to Sirmond, they are prior to the Bishop of Orléans.

⁵ MGH. Poet., IV, 1, 339-43; 249-60. It is surprising that J. M. Clark, who writes at some length (*Abbey of St. Gall*, p. 96; 121) on the study of Martianus at St. Gall, makes no mention of the poem in Sangallensis 381.

especial favourite. There are still extant commentaries by Dunchad (early ninth century), John Scotus, and Remigius of Auxerre. It is probable that Martin, one of the teachers in the Irish colony at Laon in the middle of the ninth century, also lectured on this writer. Some of his explanations have survived, although there is no certainty that he ever himself composed a continuous commentary.¹

If we bear in mind that secular learning and literature, even when encouraged, were regarded as a means to an end, we shall not be surprised to find that not all the arts were cultivated to an equal extent. The subjects of the *trivium* were much more widely studied than those of the *quadrivium*, and even of those three only grammar received universal attention. We must, however, guard against interpreting the first of the arts too narrowly. Alcuin's definition, which can justly be regarded as the norm for the teachers of the ninth century, is as follows:² 'Grammar is the science of letters and the guardian of right speech and writing; it depends on nature, reason, authority, and custom.' He goes on to enumerate the subdivisions (*species*) of the subject. These include not merely letters, syllables, words, and parts of speech, but many others, such as, figures of speech, metre, stories (*fabulae*) and history. *Grammatica*, then, had a wide connotation, and embraced the study of literature and its forms as well as language. In other words, the most advanced researches of Lupus into classical Literature were *grammatica* as much as the laborious efforts at mastering the Latin elements of some Donatus-grinding oblate. As school-books the compilations of Bede and Alcuin were extensively used as well as the *Ars minor* of Donatus himself. The *Ars maior* and Priscian's grammar were given to more advanced pupils.³ The latter greatly engaged the attention of Irish scholars. Sedulius and perhaps John Scotus wrote commentaries on it, while Martin of Laon transcribed the Greek quotations from

¹ For a fuller treatment of the Carolingian Martianus commentaries consult M. L. W. Laistner in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, IX (1925), pp. 130-8.

² PL., 101, col. 857D—*grammatica est litteralis scientia, et est custos recte loquendi et scribendi; quae constat natura, ratione, auctoritate, consuetudine.*

³ One would wish to know on what authority Schubert (p. 714) asserts the great popularity of Hrabanus Maurus's abridgement of Priscian, adding that more than one thousand manuscripts of it have survived. Actually the *grammatica* of Hrabanus seems to have enjoyed very little popularity. See Manitius, pp. 292 and 298, who remarks that he knows of no manuscript of it now extant.

it and added very faulty Latin translations.¹ Moreover, no less than three surviving manuscripts of Priscian are written in Irish minuscule of the ninth century.² Some scholars, not content with the most popular grammarians also studied rarer treatises. The outcome of this was often that they prepared grammars themselves, based on what they had read or could consult in accessible libraries, for the use of their own pupils. Such was certainly the origin of most of the ninth-century *artes grammaticae*. Sedulius wrote a commentary on Eutyches. Two other Irishmen who specialized on grammar evidently had access to a large variety of treatises. Malsachanus—he seems to have lived in the latter half of the eighth century—in his work on the verb shows familiarity with nine grammarians in addition to Donatus, Priscian, Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, and Isidore.³ Clemens Scotus was a teacher at the Palace school during the later years of Charlemagne and under his successor. It was doubtless for use in his own classroom that he wrote his *Ars grammatica*, dedicating it to the young prince Lothar. In the extant grammar, going under his name, and only quite recently made available in print, probably the last of the three sections alone is by Clement. He makes a great parade of learning, but it is very problematic whether he knew at first hand more than a quarter of the authors whom he cites by name. His chief indebtedness, which is unacknowledged by him, appears to have been to his immediate predecessors, of whom Malsachanus was one.⁴ If he was no great scholar, he may yet have been a competent teacher. His poetic gifts, as revealed by a dedicatory poem to Louis' son, were less than mediocre.

¹ It was published by Miller in *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale*, 29, 2 (1891), pp. 118 ff. See also M. L. W. Laistner in *History*, 9 (1924), pp. 177–87.

² Namely Karlsruhe, *Augiensis*, 132; Leyden, 67; St. Gall, 904. Cf. W. M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae* (Cambridge, 1915) under the respective libraries. S. Hellmann (*Sedulius Scottus*, p. 100) aptly describes Priscian as 'so to speak, the national Irish grammarian'.

³ It was edited by M. Roger (Paris, 1905), who gives ample references to Malsachanus's sources.

⁴ The work has been edited by J. Tolkiehn in *Philologus, Supplementband XX, Heft 3* (1928). Tolkiehn's conclusions, however, have been submitted to rigorous criticism by K. Barwick (*Gnomon* 6 [1930], pp. 385–95), who shows that the last not the first portion of the grammar is most likely to be by Clemens and demonstrates the falsity and incompleteness of some of Tolkiehn's conclusions regarding Clemens's sources.

The lengthy commentary on Donatus by Clement's contemporary, Smaragdus, is still unpublished as a whole. Based on only a few earlier grammars, it is distinguished from other Carolingian books of this class, firstly by the wealth of its illustrative quotations, and, secondly, by the fact that these are predominantly taken from the Bible, Jerome, and Gregory I.¹ Erchanbert, a monk of Freising who may be identical with the similarly named bishop of that diocese, was yet another teacher who was moved to compile a textbook for his pupils. It was a bulky commentary on the small and the large Donatus. He utilized a very respectable number of older grammarians, a proof both of the width of his reading and the ample resources of the library in this Bavarian monastery.²

Nor were metrics and orthography neglected. Several new treatises on the one or the other appeared in the Carolingian age, although their contents did not go beyond the traditional material which had already been crystallized in writers like Cassiodorus and Bede.

While the other two subjects of the *trivium* were not ignored, they did not, after Alcuin's treatment of rhetoric and dialectic, call forth any fresh disquisitions. From Alcuin and from the relevant portions of Martianus Capella, Cassiodorus, and Isidore, most of what seemed necessary could be culled by the beginner. For a more thorough initiation into the rhetorical art recourse was had to the pre-Ciceronian treatise, *ad Herennium*, and to Cicero's youthful work, *de inventione*. It is a curious fact that mentions in early library catalogues and other direct allusions to these books are so few. Both are named by Servatus Lupus in a letter to Einhard asking for the loan of his copy of the *de inventione* and *de oratore*.³ The *ad Herennium* is listed in the ninth-century catalogue of St. Riquier.⁴ The evidence of existing manuscripts, however, shows that copies of both works were not rare. The Paris manuscript, Reg. 7774A, is a book of Tours. Written in the first half of the ninth century, it later came into the hands of Lupus who made marginal corrections in it.⁵ Three other

¹ For a full analysis cf. Manitius, I, pp. 463-6.

² Extracts have been published by Manitius in *Philologus*, 68, pp. 396-409.

³ Lupus, *Epist.*, I.

⁴ Becker, No. 11, 180.

⁵ Cf. C. H. Beeson, *Servatus Lupus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), p. vii *et al.* E. K. Rand in his description of the manuscript (*Manuscripts of Tours*, No. 85) strangely omits all reference to Lupus and his *marginalia*.

manuscripts of the *de inventione*, now respectively at Würzburg, St. Gall, and Leyden, were written in the same century, as were two of the four earliest surviving *codices* of the *ad Herennium*, now preserved at Paris and Würzburg. Two others, one in Leningrad from the abbey of Corbie, the other at Berne, were copied not later than the beginning of the tenth century, and may well be somewhat older. The conclusion to be drawn from this evidence seems to be that, while these two treatises were known and utilized in some quarters, we are not justified in regarding them as texts which were in regular or constant use in the Carolingian epoch. Hence the generalizations of some modern writers must be treated with caution as far as the ninth century is concerned.¹ The *De oratore* and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, on the other hand, were scarce works and, in any case too advanced save for an exceptional scholar like Servatus Lupus.²

For the study of dialectic, which to Alcuin and to his pupil, Hrabanus, was synonymous with logic, the ninth-century teachers, if they sought for more than Alcuin's little treatise offered, betook themselves to the same sources that he had used, namely the translations and commentaries of Boethius and the pseudo-Augustinian *Categories*. The Boethian commentary on Cicero's *Topica*, of which there was a copy at Tours, was borrowed by Lupus;³ few besides him appear to have known either work in that age.

On the subjects of the *quadrivium*, too, few fresh works were composed. Geometry as such was scarcely known or understood. Since Boethius's treatise on it was lost, there were only the sections in Isidore's *Etymologies* and the sixth book of Martianus to which an interested learner could turn. But the information there provided belongs rather to geography than to the mathematical sciences. Again, the knowledge of arithmetic, astronomy, and music, was derived entirely from the old, 'standard', authors. In most cases also the occupation with these arts was determined by practical considerations. Some knowledge of the seasons, planets, and constellations was requisite to determine the proper time for church festivals and offices. The calculations necessary to fix these and to

¹ For instance, the remarks of F. A. Specht, *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland* (Stuttgart, 1885), p. 116, which J. M. Clark (*Abbey of St. Gall*, p. 114) appears to echo, can only be accepted with certain qualifications. In the twelfth century, as J. S. Beddie has most recently pointed out (*Speculum*, 5 [1930], p. 9), copies of the *ad Herennium* were numerous.

² See below, p. 208.

³ *Epist.*, 16.

draw up an ecclesiastical calendar entailed a working acquaintance with arithmetic. Boethius, Martianus, and Isidore among the older, Bede among more recent, writers were the accepted authorities of the Carolingian age. The works of the English scholar especially were widely used, as can be deduced from their presence in many, if not most, monastic and cathedral libraries. Sometimes volumes of considerable bulk were put together, containing *computi*, as the tables for reckoning out the dates of religious festivals were called, and the standard treatises on the subject, reproduced in their entirety or in extracts. An excellent example of this is furnished by a manuscript of the early ninth century now preserved in the Vatican (*Pal. lat.* 1448). It was written partly at Trèves, partly perhaps at Mayence. In addition to various calendars, computistic tables, and lunar reckonings, it contains Isidore's *De natura rerum* and parts of the third book of the *Etymologies*, and Bede's *De temporibus* and *De ratione temporum*.¹ The number of actual *computi* still extant from this period is considerable. Several scholars, moreover, composed fresh treatises on the proper method of compiling such. The information so given, for example, by Hrabanus and by the monk, Heleric, who taught at Auxerre about the middle of the century, is wholly derived from their predecessors. Here and there men were animated with a more purely scientific interest in the heavens. They could increase their theoretical knowledge by perusing Germanicus's translation of Aratus's *Phaenomena* or the treatise by Julius Hyginus.² Yet nearly two centuries were to elapse from the death of Charlemagne before a real advance in geometrical and astronomical theory and experiment was made through the genius of Gerbert (c. 940-1003) and Hermann of Reichenau (c. 1013-1054). An apparent exception is to be found in the astronomical theory of John Scotus which is highly unusual. John differed from his contemporaries, who followed Isidore and Bede, in adopting a view expressed in Chalcidius and Macrobius and briefly touched upon in Martianus, and in elaborating it. Those writers had made Mercury and Venus,

¹ There is an admirably full description of this manuscript by W. M. Lindsay in *Palaeographia Latina*, IV, pp. 22-6. An earlier example of a *codex* containing a collection of computistic material is *Paris. lat.* 609. It was written in 777 and was once at Limoges.

² Both works are met with in ninth-century catalogues of Reichenau. Three extant manuscripts of Hyginus and four of Aratus in Germanicus's version were written in the ninth century.

but not the other planets, revolve round the sun, a theory which must apparently be traced back ultimately to Heraclides of Pontus.¹ John, in the course of the allegorical exposition of the first chapter of Genesis contained in his philosophical treatise, *On the division of the universe*, propounds a symmetrical scheme of fixing the relative position of the heavenly bodies in the universe, and bringing it into line with the doctrine of the harmony of the spheres.² The diameter of the earth is the unit on which his calculations are based; it also represents one tone of the octave. The four planets, Mercury, Venus, Mars, and Jupiter, revolve round the sun, but Saturn round the earth. The earth is at the centre of the system; from it the distances to the moon, planets, sun, Saturn, and fixed stars are established in arithmetic proportion. Thus it is one diameter of the earth from the earth's surface to the centre of the moon. The second extends from there to the nearest point of the orbit of the planets, the third from there to the centre of the sun, the fourth from there to the farthest point of the orbit of the planets. The fifth reaches to the centre of Saturn, and the sixth from there to the sphere of the fixed stars. Thus we get also six tones in addition to the first, which is equivalent to the diameter of the earth itself, the total being the seven tones of the celestial scale. John's scheme is certainly remarkable—it has been claimed that, save for the rotation of Saturn round the earth, it is similar to that of Tycho Brahe—but we must not exaggerate its significance. For, after all, it was neither based on elaborate mathematical calculations nor supported by observation. John had found in authors generally disregarded in his day by those interested in astronomy certain suggestions which could be logically developed to harmonize with his philosophical system as a whole; and it was only from this point of view that the heavenly bodies, their positions, and their motions in the universe engaged his attention at all.

The theory of music found interested students in Aurelian of Réomé (middle of the ninth century) and Hucbald, a monk of St. Amand (c. 840-930). Both, however, since the former added only a little and the latter nothing to the handbooks of an earlier age, pale completely in significance before the author of the treatise entitled, *Musica enchiriadis*, composed before the end of the ninth century. According to Dom Morin's very probable conjecture he was Hoger, abbot of Werden,

¹ Cf. P. Duhem, *Le système du monde*, III (1915), pp. 58 ff.

² PL., 122, coll. 697A-698A, 719A-723A.

who died in 902.¹ By introducing a new system of musical notation which, though not adopted by later theorists as it stood, influenced their more lasting systems, by his discussion of harmony and polyphonic singing, possibly also by being the first to designate the notes of the octave by the first seven letters of the alphabet, he can justly claim a place among the pioneers in the theory and practice of music.

We have seen how Isidore's *Etymologies* was, as it were, the standard book of reference on all matters connected with the arts and sciences. It was therefore a matter of some consequence when Hrabanus Maurus produced his *De rerum naturis*—the manuscripts do not warrant the title, *De universo*—which was a new and somewhat altered edition of Isidore. Hrabanus divided his encyclopedia into twenty-two, instead of into twenty books. He transposed certain parts of Isidore so that the theological sections came first, and he omitted others, notably those on the liberal arts with which he dealt in another work.² The only other innovation was that mystical or allegorical interpretations were sown broadcast through the whole encyclopedia, Hrabanus's sources for this purpose being Jerome and Bede. The useful character of the revised manual and the reputation and authority of Hrabanus ensured to the *De rerum naturis* a wide popularity and use.

One important product of monastic industry and of pre-occupation with *grammatica* calls for brief notice. There were obvious advantages, both for use in the schoolroom and for private reading by those whose scholarship was limited, in chrestomathies. Such collections of short, or extracts from longer, works of various types were in great demand during the Carolingian epoch. The contents might be mainly didactic, or might be intended for recreation, or might be composed of equal portions of what was improving and what was written in a lighter vein, in prose or verse. A ninth-century manuscript of St. Gall (No. 855) will serve as an example of the former class. It is made up of Donatus's *Ars maior*, Alcuin's *De rhetorica*, some Vergilian and Leonine verses, the second book of Cassiodorus's *Institutiones*, Theodorus's treatise on metres, a brief disquisition on pagan and Christian miracles, some extracts from Isidore's *De natura rerum*, and a poem by the Visigothic king Sisebut. The other class is well exemplified by a manuscript which has been made the subject of a careful

¹ *Revue bénédictine*, 12 (1895), pp. 394 ff. There is an excellent synopsis of Hoger's work in Manitius, I, pp. 449-51, with ample bibliographical references to musicological literature.

² The *De institutione clericorum*, for which see below, p. 253.

study by Rand.¹ It is a ninth-century *codex* of Fleury, which in its present form contains Arator's epic on Acts, Prosper's Augustinian epigrams, and some other Christian poetry, the *Disticha Catonis*, Avianus's fables, select epigrams from the *Latin Anthology* and from Martial, Avitus, and an extract from the first book of Isidore's *Etymologies*. But a good portion from the middle and also the end of the manuscript are lost. There are sound reasons for believing, as Rand has shown, that Juvenius and Sedulius's *Paschal Hymn* followed Arator when the manuscript was complete, and that the concluding folios contained the fables of Phaedrus. We shall have occasion later to note other *collectanea* of a more advanced type, devoted to the works of Latin prose authors or of the Fathers, while it has been shown above that collections of scientific extracts were also greatly favoured.

An indispensable aid to learning, as well as a temptation to pedants, was a dictionary or glossary. The number of these is very large and they differ greatly in size, age, and value. For it would be a grave error to suppose that all these word-lists, compiled between the sixth or seventh and the tenth centuries were, so to speak, original works.² Actually there are a few early glossaries, which must be regarded as basic. The material they contained was used again and again, being expanded or abbreviated and, be it added, often garbled in the process. The two oldest all-Latin glossaries are now commonly referred to, from their opening words, as *Abstrusa* and *Abolita*. According to their latest editors, they were compiled not later than the beginning of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century respectively.³ The origin of such glossaries is to be found in the marginal glosses with which some manuscripts were supplied. These monastic teachers often copied down in order to use them in instructing their classes. A further stage in the creation of a dictionary was reached when the teacher or his pupils put together in rough alphabetical order, that is to say, by the first letters of the words only, several sets of such *glossae collectae*. As the process advanced yet further, so that strict alphabetical order was attained, and the glossary grew in size by splitting up

¹ See E. K. Rand in *Philological Quarterly*, 1 (Iowa, 1922), pp. 258-77.

² See G. Goetz, *Corpus glossariorum latinorum*.

³ The most important of the glossaries have now been published in critical editions, and with the sources indicated as far as possible, in *Glossaria Latina*, 1-3 (Paris, 1926). *Abstrusa* and *Abolita* will be found in vol. 3. On their dates see *ibid.*, p. vi and p. 93.

the longer glosses and making fresh ones, the original source of them became more and more obscured. In reality the sources from which glossaries were derived are very limited. The *Abstrusa* glossary is made up primarily of glosses taken from a manuscript containing *scholia* on Vergil; there are also a number of Bible glosses. *Abolita* drew its material from *marginalia* to Vergil and to certain plays of Terence, and from Festus's *De significatu verborum*. The most ambitious piece of dictionary-making may be regarded justly as a product of Charlemagne's revival of learning. The so-called *Liber glossarum* or *Glossarium Ansileubi* was compiled in France, and very possibly at Corbie, in the last quarter of the eighth century.¹ It was a vast achievement to weld together what is in effect part dictionary, part encyclopaedia. For the glossarial portion the *Abstrusa* and *Abolita* glossaries, Placidus, and marginal glosses from Vergil manuscripts are the main sources. The encyclopaedia sections come primarily from the works of Isidore, but there are many extracts from Augustine, especially the *De civitate Dei*, Ambrose, Jerome, Eucherius, Orosius, and a number of others. The value of these early mediaeval compilations is not negligible, provided their character and particularly their origin be properly understood.² The classicist, working cautiously, it is true, can recover some parts of early and valuable Vergil *scholia* from them,³ while here and there he will be rewarded by a citation from some lost Latin work, although too often it has become garbled in transmission. The comparative philologist, again, will find much to interest him in classical Latin words that have changed, or are in process of changing, their meanings, or in late Latin words used to explain the earlier, which by the later Merovingian period were beginning to be unintelligible to many. Such examples mark an instructive stage in the transition from Latin to the Romance languages. A few instances, all taken from the *Liber glossarum*: *Alnum*, alder

¹ Cf. W. M. Lindsay in *Bulletin Du Cange*, 3 (1927), pp. 95 ff. He would attribute the undertaking to the initiative of Adalhard, abbot of Corbie. The chief reason for believing that the *Liber glossarum* was put together in that abbey is that two of the oldest extant manuscripts were written in the most characteristic minuscule of Corbie. In addition two short fragments in the same script have survived. The *Liber glossarum*, edited by W. M. Lindsay and others, will be found in *Glossaria Latina*, 1.

² Cf. Lindsay's preface in *St. Andrew's University Publications*, XIII (1921).

³ Cf. H. J. Thomson, *ibid.*, pp. 46 ff.

wood, is explained by *verna* (French *verne*). *Mentiriosus*, given as the equivalent of the classical *fallax*, survives in the Spanish *mintroso*. *Rufus*, red, is glossed *vermiculus*, from which comes the French *vermeil*. *Saumarium* (French *sommier*) explains the classical Latin *equus castratus*, a gelding, while *seminare* (French *semer*) is the synonym for the unfamiliar *serere*. These are but a few examples out of many to show that early mediaeval glossaries play a by no means negligible part in the history of language. No less important were bilingual word-lists. It has been noted that in Southern Italy Greek continued to be a living language in the mediaeval period.¹ It was probably in that region and in the latter part of the sixth century that the large bilingual glossary, commonly called the Philoxenus glossary, which has only survived in a very abbreviated form, was composed. The sources, again, are not numerous, namely Festus, Charisius, the four *Catilinarian Orations* of Cicero, Bible glosses, including some that come indubitably from a pre-Hieronymic Latin version, Horace glosses, and one or two others.² Just as *Abstrusa* and *Abolita* were utilized for the *Liber glossarum*, so much material was taken over into later glossaries from Philoxenus. This was notably the case with a group of Latin-Old English glossaries, of which the oldest (eighth century) is preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.³ An early example of a Latin-Old High German glossary survives in the late eighth-century St. Gall manuscript, No. 913. In this, the so-called *Vocabularius S. Galli*, the words are assembled under separate subject headings, but there is also an appendix in which the material is arranged in alphabetical order. The great size of a dictionary like the *Liber glossarum*, or even of some glossaries like Philoxenus, would preclude its being copied frequently as it stood. But the compilation and transcription of shorter word-lists was a customary exercise in monastic schools and *scriptoria* of the Carolingian age, older material being used again and again for the purpose. In short, with few exceptions, in this, as in theology and in scholarship, the lettered men of that era were traditionalists rather than innovators.

¹ See above, p. 133.

² For these sources see the edition by the present writer in *Glossaria Latina*, 2 (pp. 125-291), pp. 130-6.

³ This group has been carefully studied and analysed by Lindsay in *Publications of the Oxford Philological Society*, VIII (1921). The same scholar has also issued a definitive edition of the Corpus Glossary (Cambridge, 1921).

CHAPTER IX

LIBRARIES AND *SCRIPTORIA*

WE have already alluded to the evolution of characteristic scripts in Ireland and in Southern Italy, the former derived from half uncial, the latter from cursive.¹ The seventh and eighth centuries were, in truth, an age of experimentation all over Western Europe, the problem being how best to devise book-hands that would be more economical in parchment and in the time that they consumed when in use. The Anglo-Saxon scribes became the apt pupils of the Celtic missionaries, and, though manuscripts from Italy found their way to England, their writing exerted no permanent influence on the native scribes.² For both the calligraphic half uncial and the minuscule written in the English monasteries, although they soon developed along their own characteristic lines, were adapted from the Irish script. Among the most noted and elaborate examples of Anglo-Saxon half uncial are the Lindisfarne Gospels, preserved in the British Museum, and the Salaberga psalter, once at Laon and now in the Berlin library.³ A famous eighth-century *codex* of Cassiodorus, now in the cathedral library at Durham, which, according to an unproved tradition was written by the Venerable Bede,⁴ marks a half-way stage between Anglo-Saxon half uncial and minuscule. In the eighth and well into the ninth century, moreover, the Anglo-Saxon variety of insular script had a wide distribution on the continent of Europe, especially in the countries east of the Rhine. For it was there that the missionary work from England had been intensive. The English monks brought manuscripts with them—we have seen Boniface's anxiety to increase his slender stock of books—and when they settled in continental abbeys they continued to use their national hands and to teach them to others. It was not until the ninth century was well advanced that the

¹ See above, pp. 107, 137.

² See above, p. 118.

³ Cf. E. G. Millar, *The Lindisfarne Gospels* (London, 1923); G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, V, chapters xiv to xvi.

⁴ The same tradition attaches to a manuscript of St. Paul's Epistles, now in Trinity College, Cambridge. It is written in minuscule.

Anglo-Saxon script was ousted on the continent by Carolingian minuscule. In England, on the other hand, it held its own fully until the middle of the tenth century; and, even after that time, when continental minuscule had been generally adopted, the older Anglo-Saxon style of writing continued to be used for copying vernacular works.

In Spain, too, a characteristic hand had been devised not later than *c.* 700. Derived, it would seem, from Roman cursive, with some modifications due to the study of uncial and half-uncial hands, the so-called Visigothic minuscule was not supplanted by the all-conquering continental until the close of the eleventh century.

In the Frankish kingdom and other parts of the continent, including Northern Italy, there was experimentation and much variety in writing during the earliest period. An early calligraphic minuscule, based on Merovingian cursive, was evolved at Luxeuil. It is a somewhat remarkable fact that in none of the monasteries with which Columban's name is associated did the Irish influence extend to the practice of the *scriptoria*. The so-called Luxeuil type has no Irish features. As long as it was employed its influence was considerable, extending to various centres in France and even to some in Northern Italy. Amongst the most famous manuscripts written in this script is the Ragyndrudis codex of the early eighth century. It is one of three venerable manuscripts preserved at Fulda, which belonged to Boniface, and, being the very book with which he tried to shield himself when he was killed, bears the marks of a sword to this day. Of exceptional importance in the history of Western palaeography was the abbey of Corbie. Its first abbot had been taken, as we saw, from Luxeuil. From its *scriptorium*, which was exceptionally active in the eighth century, no less than five varieties of minuscule are known. It is, moreover, to be noted that they do not represent consecutive stages of development, but that two or more overlap chronologically and were used side by side.¹ The most characteristic of these hands, which was adopted over a large area, lasted till the early years of the ninth century. Yet already before 778 there had been written at Corbie a Bible in several volumes by order of abbot Maurdrannus. Its script is the earliest example of a true Carolingian minuscule. The use contemporaneously in one writing-school of several scripts, which were the result of different lines of development,

¹ See *Palaeographia Latina*, I (1922), pp. 62 ff. and *Revue des bibliothèques*, 22 (1912), pp. 405 ff.

is indicative both of the trouble taken to devise a truly satisfactory hand and of the constant intercourse between *scriptoria*, even those which were widely separated geographically. Where so many religious houses existed, it was no wonder that there was so much variation in the practice of the writing-schools, as long as these were in the formative stage. Their graphic style would be determined partly by the older models at their disposal—for instance, venerable uncial or half-uncial *codices* of the Bible or the Latin Fathers—partly by the degree of intercommunication which they were able or willing to foster with monasteries elsewhere. A successful *scriptorium*, like that of St. Benedict's monastery at Fleury or that at Reichenau, had many imitators. Foundations which were close to two different cultural regions, or else situated at some nodal point of important highways, would be especially liable to be exposed and to react to a variety of influences. Thus the presence in Southern French *scriptoria*, and even at places as far from the Pyrenees as Limoges, of Spanish characteristics in writing is easily intelligible. At Lyons, which for centuries had stood where four or five transcontinental routes converged, was bound to play a decisive part in the transmission of Italian and Spanish writing to the more northerly countries and vice-versa. Such interchange would in time leave its impress on the schools of writing. In the same period of transition first the Irish and then the English monks who made their way across the sea to France or Germany left their mark on not a few continental *scriptoria*. All this immense diversity in written hands gradually passed away, as the so-called Carolingian minuscule, over whose precise origin palaeographers still dispute, owing to its clearness, beauty, and essential simplicity, supplanted the older book-hands. Yet, as we have seen, although in Neustria and Austrasia it was everywhere triumphant by the middle of the ninth century, its progress in remoter regions, like England or Spain, was very perceptibly slower. Existing manuscripts and library catalogues of the late eighth and the ninth centuries tell us that most of the more considerable religious houses had good-sized, sometimes remarkably large, collections of manuscripts, both sacred and profane, although the former class naturally predominated. Every monastery of any pretensions made some provision for the copying of manuscripts. In the larger abbeys a good many scribes might be employed, so that the *scriptorium* became a regular centre for multiplying *codices* and distributing them to other houses, instead of merely

supplying the needs of one institution. If only a small number of libraries is singled out for notice here, it is because no useful purpose would be served by compiling a more exhaustive list. Furthermore, information happens to be much more ample for some than for others, and this circumstance will largely determine the nature of any selection. Nor is this misleading, provided it be remembered that chance operates very unevenly. For example, for the period covered by this chapter there are far more mediaeval catalogues extant of the German (Austrasia, Bavaria, Alemannia) than of the French (Neustria, Aquitaine) libraries.

We have already referred to the fame of the York library. Alcuin included an all too brief summary of its contents in his poem on the bishops of York. Clearly it was, like most other collections at this date, richest in theology. The list of the Fathers is long—Hilary of Poitiers, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Basil, Chrysostom, Athanasius, Orosius, Leo I, Gregory I, Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe, and Victorinus. It is, of course, not to be assumed that the works of the more prolific writers were completely available there, although it is probable that Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great were each represented by a goodly collection of their writings. For Bede had a wide acquaintance with all three and the connexion between Jarrow and York was close. The Greek Fathers were presumably in Latin dress. For neither Alcuin nor any of his contemporaries could have understood them in the original. Of Cassiodorus the library doubtless had the commentary on the Psalms and perhaps the second book of the *Institutiones*. The first book does not seem to have been known in England at all at this date.¹ To these names we must certainly add that of Isidore, whose name (for metrical reasons ?) is omitted in the poem. Again we can safely assume a fairly large number of books on the liberal arts, although Alcuin has not specified all. For, apart from the needs of the school, Alcuin's own interests in arithmetic and astronomy makes it certain that texts on these subjects were available ; but in the poem they are omitted. Pagan literature was rather poorly represented. Alcuin names Vergil, Statius, and Lucan of the poets, Cicero, Pliny, Pompeius (presumably Justinus's abridgement of Pompeius Trogus), Aristotle (that is to say Boethius) of prose writers. On the other hand, the

¹ See the remarks of P. Lehmann in *Philologus*, 74 (1917), pp. 362 ff. Book I of the *Institutiones* was available at Reichenau in the ninth and at Bobbio in the tenth century.

list of Christian poets was large. In France Corbie, Tours, Fleury, and Lyons could all boast of a wealth of *codices* in the ninth century, which might be lent to other houses for copying as we know, for example, from the letters of Servatus Lupus. In such cases it was not unusual to demand from the borrower another manuscript as a pledge for the safe return of the borrowed book. From Corbie and Tours no early catalogues survive; but Corbie possessed a remarkable series of very early uncial and half-uncial manuscripts and we have noted already the great activity of its writing-school. Nor was the number of books at Tours before Alcuin's time negligible, while in the ninth century it was one of the foremost collections west of the Rhine.¹ A ninth-century list from Fleury contains mostly theological works; one from the tenth, on the other hand, is mostly made up of pagan authors and of books on the *trivium* and *quadrivium*.² The records of the abbey of St. Vandrille show that the steady enlargement of the monastic library was one of the aims of its abbots. This collection, as also that at St. Riquier, was predominantly theological.³ The cathedral library at Lyons in the ninth century enjoyed a deserved fame. Unlike most mediaeval collections, it was not subsequently scattered in different European cities, for many of its manuscripts are still in their original home.⁴ The excellence of this library was due in the first place to the real culture of its archbishops, from Leidrad (798-814) to Remigius (852-875) and to that scholarly writer, the deacon Florus, whose autograph can still be seen in the *marginalia* of some Lyons manuscripts. Theology again predominated, Augustine's works taking the place of honour.

Surviving catalogues and existing *codices* attest the importance of many libraries in what is now Germany or Switzerland during the Carolingian age. Again, we cannot do more than select a small number for consideration. No list from the cathedral library at Cologne has survived, but its *scriptorium* was very active during archbishop Hildebald's tenure of the see (795-819), and a number of its products still exist to-day.⁵ Similarly

¹ See the elaborate publication of E. K. Rand entitled *Studies in the Script of Tours*, I; a *Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, Vol. I, text; Vol. II, plates (Cambridge, Mass., 1929).

² Cf. DACL., V, 2, s.v. Fleury.

³ Becker, I, 4, and 7 for St. Vandrille, 11 for St. Riquier.

⁴ Cf. S. Tafel in *Palaeographia Latina*, II, pp. 66 ff. and IV, pp. 40 ff.

⁵ Cf. W. M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 453. L. W. Jones (*Speculum*, 4, pp. 27 ff.) and E. K. Rand (*The Manuscripts of Tours*, p. 115) claim that Cologne 106 was also written in Hildebald's *scriptorium*.

it has been possible from extant manuscripts to obtain a fair idea of the resources of the library at Mayence. It possessed, for instance, a fine collection of Augustine's works. A copy of the *Retractations* there had all those writings marked—forty-eight in all—which were available on the spot. The most noteworthy absentee is the *De doctrina Christiana*, which in the ninth century was to be found at Fulda, Lorsch, Würzburg, Reichenau and St. Gall.¹ At Würzburg, as at Lyons, many of the old books are still preserved where they were first collected or copied. In the remains of a ninth-century catalogue two hundred and nine items are entered; almost without exception they are Biblical or liturgical texts or theological works. Amongst the rarer books were a Greek Psalter and the commentary on the Psalms by the younger Arnobius.² The monastery of Lorsch in Hesse was a comparatively late foundation, for it was established by Chrodegang of Metz in 764.³ From the first, however, it enjoyed royal favour, with the result that within less than fifty years it was one of the richest abbeys east of the Rhine. Its library in the ninth century was worthy of its leading position as a religious house. The extant catalogue, which is not complete, enumerates nearly six hundred works arranged in sixty-three sections, and is the fullest library list of the Carolingian age.⁴ No less than eighteen sections are devoted to the works of Augustine and six to those of Jerome, a further proof of the superlative importance of these Fathers in a well-appointed monastic collection of books. Other dogmatic and exegetical authors are well represented. Nor was profane literature neglected at Lorsch, since Vergil, Lucan, Horace, some speeches and letters and the *De officiis* of Cicero, some treatises of Seneca, Pliny the elder, and a number of later authors, like Solinus and the mythographer Fulgentius, figure in the list. Finally there

¹ Cf. W. M. Lindsay and P. Lehmann in *Palaeographia latina*, IV (1925), pp. 15 ff.

² Becker, No. 18.

³ For the valuable collection at Lorsch cf. W. M. Lindsay in *Palaeographia Latina*, III (1924), pp. 5 ff. The number of extant MSS. which were once at Lorsch is considerable, the greater part being now in the Vatican Library. That the list can still be increased by new discoveries is shown by P. Lehmann's identification of four ninth-century *codices* in the British Museum (*Harleian*, 3024, 3032, 3039, 3115) as books that once belonged to the Hessian Abbey. See P. Lehmann, *Mitteilungen aus Handschriften*, II, in *Sitzungsberichte*, Bavarian Academy, 1930.

⁴ Becker, 37 and 38. Facsimiles of pages from both parts of the catalogue will be found in Lindsay, *op. cit.*, plates I and II.

were not wanting treatises on grammar, rhetoric, and metrics, all of which would be essential for instruction in the school.

Unfortunately only fragments exist of early catalogues from Fulda. The most considerable records one hundred and ten titles,¹ mostly of Bible manuscripts and patristic literature, notably Augustine and thirty-six Jerome items. But, although theology and exegesis were the primary occupation of the Fulda scholars in the ninth century—witness the labours of Hrabanus Maurus in this field—and the library was in consequence especially well stocked with the relevant literature, it could also boast of an unusually fine series of classical and late classical authors.² There were to be found such rarities as Suetonius's *Lives of the Caesars*, Ammianus Marcellinus, Columella, probably parts of Tacitus, the letters of the younger Pliny, and many others. The total list of secular works of all kinds whose existence in Fulda at that date can be postulated with fair certainty is long, so that the rôle played by its library and *scriptorium* in the transmission of classical and post-classical Latin writers may fairly be called unique. Although the beginnings of St. Gall reach back to the early years of the seventh century, more than three generations passed before it grew to a considerable size. It is usual to date its rapid rise into the forefront of mediaeval monasteries from the time of Gozbert (816–836). During the last years of his abbacy and under his immediate successors the monastic buildings were gradually rebuilt and much enlarged. It is a singularly fortunate circumstance that a contemporary plan of the reconstructed abbey has survived.³ Yet already during the course of the eighth century St. Gall had acquired a fair collection of manuscripts from outside. At the same time its own scribes were not inactive. The best known of them, Winitharius, was an elderly man *c.* 760, so that his *floruit* falls in the quarter of a century or so before that date. Six manuscripts still preserved at St. Gall and one each at Vienna and at Zürich were written wholly or partly by him.⁴ In a

¹ On this and on its ninth-century date see P. Lehmann's article in *Bok- och Bibliotekshistoriska Studier tillägnade Isak Collijn* (Uppsala, 1925), pp. 47 ff.

² Cf. the same writer's essay, entitled, *Fulda und die antike Literatur*, in the memorial volume, *Aus Fulda's Geistesleben*, published in 1928.

³ See the plan in DACL., VI, facing p. 87.

⁴ See the notable study of the early St. Gall scriptorium by K. Löffler in *Palaeographia Latina*, VI (1929), pp. 5–66, with ten plates. For Winitharius see pp. 52 ff., while specimens of his hand will be found on plates 8 to 10.

humble way he appears also to have been an author, since short passages by him are found in *codices* which he wrote. The pride of the artist, not without a certain degree of pedantry, rings out in the colophon at the end of a large collection of Biblical and theological citations which he had put together.

Here ends the book which Winitharius, a sinner and a priest undeservingly ordained, wrote. With God's aid he brought it to completion by the labour of his own hands; and there is not here one leaf which he had not secured by his own efforts, either by purchase or by begging for it (*mendicando*), and there is not in this book one *apex* or one *iota* which his hand did not trace.¹

In the following century the growth of the library was phenomenal. This can be seen from a contemporary catalogue, which is supplemented by lists of acquisitions made in the abbacy of Grimald and of his private collection as well as that of his successor, Hartmut. Finally a list of nearly thirty large volumes, copied while Hartmut was head of the monastery, bears testimony to the active labours of the writing-school.² The catholic character of the library is remarkable. On theology and exegesis there was a wide selection of works by the four 'doctors', Isidore, Bede, and Alcuin. Cassiodorus was represented by the commentary on the Psalms and by the *Tripartite History*. Other historical works included Eusebius, the Latin Josephus, Orosius, and Gregory of Tours' *History of the Franks*. Among the rarities we may count Tyconius's commentary on the Apocalypse, a manuscript now unfortunately lost. There was further a varied collection of hagiographical writings and of monastic rules; an important series of legal compilations, including the *Theodosian Code*; a large and miscellaneous selection of grammars and other books on the subjects of the *trivium*, with a few on those of the *quadrivium*; and all the chief Christian poets. Although, with the exception of Vergil and Vegetius, the Roman poets and prose writers do not appear in these lists, it is clear from what is known of the school teaching from the end of the ninth century that Vergil was not the only pagan author who was studied.

The fifty books which Pirmin is reputed to have acquired as the nucleus of a library in his foundation at Reichenau

¹ Latin text in Löffler, p. 54.

² All these catalogues and those of Reichenau will be found, admirably edited, in P. Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, I (1918).

were added to steadily. Under a succession of able and scholarly abbots the *scriptorium* was a hive of industry. In addition many *codices* were acquired by gift or purchase from far and near, not a few being presented by visitors to what was already by Charlemagne's time one of the most famous monasteries in the eastern half of the Empire. From 821 to 846 the books were under the care of a remarkable librarian. No less than five book-lists from this time have survived. The earliest contains more than four hundred volumes. The other four enumerate the additions made at different times during the twenty-five years of Reginbert's stewardship. He himself refers to the three methods of enlarging the collection which he adopted, copying in the abbey *scriptorium*, gift, and purchase. In the books which he himself copied—for he was a skilled scribe, as well as a custodian of books—he inscribed twelve hexameter lines, concluding with a friendly admonition to the reader :

Observe, sweet friend, the copyist's heavy toil ;
Take, open, read but harm not, close, replace.¹

It is a sad reflection that the contents of this library, like most mediaeval collections, were destined to be scattered and in part lost. Its general character was very similar to that at St. Gall, though somewhat richer. Here as there religious works of every kind formed much the largest class. Besides these there was a notable array of legal codes and of grammatical treatises. A catalogue written in the second half of the ninth century is chiefly of interest because in it we meet with an impressive array of classical writers, as follows: Persius and Juvenal, Ovid's *Art of Love* and *Metamorphoses*, Silius, Statius, Macrobius, Chalcidius's translation of Plato's *Timaeus*, Seneca's *Letters* and *Natural Questions*, Hyginus, Sallust's *Catiline*, the abridgement of Pompeius Trogus, and Claudian.

We may close the list of libraries with a brief reference to Bobbio. Allusion has previously been made to the venerable *codices*, including many from Vivarium, which were housed at Bobbio during the Lombard period.² The earliest library catalogue does not antedate the tenth century ; hence it is

¹ Dulcis amice, gravem scribendi attende laborem ;

Tolle, aperi, recita, ne laedas, claude, repone.

For the text of the whole poem, see W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* (ed. 3, 1896), p. 575.

² See above, p. 135.

not an altogether safe guide to the contents of the library in the Carolingian epoch. Still, it is not rash to assume that a good deal had already been acquired before the close of the ninth century. The list is very long, embracing between six and seven hundred titles.¹ There is a noble array of sacred and profane authors. Among the latter we find Lucretius, Vergil, Horace, Lucan, Persius, Juvenal, Martial, Ovid, Valerius Flaccus, Claudian, and Ausonius. Prose of the classical period, on the other hand, was rather thinly represented by Cicero's *Catilinarian Orations* with the *Topica* and *Partitiones*, by some Seneca, and by Pliny's *Natural History*. All the more varied and numerous were the works bearing on each of the liberal arts, and the collection of Christian poets. The largest part of the library was of course the theological and hagiographical section, but this need not be described in detail.

In conclusion it is perhaps not otiose to observe that the *marginalia* and colophons of manuscripts often throw interesting sidelights on monastic life. Irish monks often reveal their presence in an abbey by comments in their vernacular or their peculiar script, or both, in extant manuscripts known to have belonged to that particular foundation. Where silence was a strict rule, as was usual in *scriptoria*, a written conversation might still be carried on between two neighbouring scribes, containing references to the coldness of the weather or the hairiness of the vellum used for writing on.² The scribe who referred to his monastery as a humble prayer-house, inserting a couplet (of his own composition?) in the middle of astronomical selections, must have had an 'off' day.³ Entries at the close of manuscripts are not uncommon, though they are not often as well composed as those of Reginbert nor as lengthy as that of Winitharius. Another exceptionally detailed example occurs in a manuscript written

¹ Becker 32.

² Cf. W. M. Lindsay in *Palaeographia Latina*, II, p. 24.

³ *Harleian*, 3017, written between 861 and 868, perhaps at Fleury, is made up of computistic material and scientific extracts from Isidore and Bede. The couplet will be found at the foot of folio 87r, and reads,

Haec sursum mittit buttis quos colligit ignes

Ut querulas fugiat lacrimas haec parva prose(u)che.

The last three words are repeated and glossed in the margin 'parva domus'. Another curiosity of this codex is the confession (*ordo poenitentiae*) inserted on fol. 181v. to 182r. Its wording is nearly identical with that contained in Valicell. D5, published by H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche* (Mainz, 1883), p. 88.

in 823 and now at Munich (Monac. 14437). It reads as follows :

I, Baturicus, bishop at Ratisbon, in the name of God had this book copied for the salvation of my soul. It was written in seven days and revised on the eighth in the same place, in the seventh year of my episcopate and the year 823 of our Lord's Incarnation. Moreover, it was copied by Ellenhard and Dignus, while Hilduin supervised the correctness of the writing. Pray for us.¹

Exhortations to the reader, like that of the tenth-century scribe who wrote 'turn the pages gently, reader, wash your hands, hold the book so, and lay something between it and your dress', are not so frequent.² But the best-known type of such entries is that which indicates the monastery to which the book belongs; appended is very often a curse on any thief or would-be thief. Thus a ninth-century manuscript of Juvenal and Persius has an 'ex libris' note, *codex Sancti Nazarii Martiris Christi*, which tells us that it belonged to Lorsch. This entry is followed by a twice-repeated couplet, which may be rendered in English,

Whoe'er this book to make his own doth plot,
The fires of Hell and brimstone be his lot!³

Prose imprecations are commoner, as thus: 'If any man shall steal or by some ruse attempt to purloin this from the possession of St. Martin may he be accursed'. Or again, 'This is the book of St. Maximin, which Hatto caused to be written for the glory of God and St. Maximin, with such intent that, whoever shall take it from this place, intending not to return it, may he be damned in company with the devil.'⁴

¹ The Latin text will be found in W. M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 468. Baturicus was bishop of Ratisbon for thirty years.

² See Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

³ Qui cupit hunc librum sibimet contendere privum,
Hic Flegetonas patiatul sulphure flammas.

Published by Falk in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft 26 (1902), p. 54, and reproduced also by Lindsay in *Palaeographia Latina*, III (1923), p. 12.

⁴ See Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 527 and 529.

CHAPTER X

THE STUDY OF GREEK

MUCH has been written in modern times on the knowledge of Greek in Western Europe during the eighth and ninth centuries. Opinions on the subject have sometimes diverged widely. In general, however, the older writers, it must be emphasized, were in the habit of absurdly overestimating the extent to which this language was studied and understood. Their attitude was uncritical because the mere occurrence of occasional Greek words in an author seemed to them sufficient proof that he was something of a Hellenist. The first scholar who, in dealing with this as with so many other topics, opened up a new approach to a difficult subject was Ludwig Traube. Whilst warning against the assumptions of his predecessors, he argued that the Irish were virtually the only students of Greek, and that the occurrence of *Graeca*, Greek words or tags, in a manuscript pointed to Irish authorship or influence.¹ In the main his thesis has proved sound. Yet the older view, though entirely lacking in proof, is still too commonly met with, chiefly because those who propound it repeated what earlier books had asserted, without themselves investigating the mediaeval authors. It is, therefore, very necessary to define at the outset what is to be understood by 'a knowledge of Greek'. If by that phrase is meant the ability correctly to understand a Greek author, theological or secular, or the Greek Bible, then assuredly competent Hellenists of the Carolingian epoch can be counted on one hand. If, on the other hand, it merely implies acquaintance with the Greek alphabet, with a few passages from the Greek liturgy, or with a certain number of isolated Greek words or phrases, generally from the Old and New Testament, then the sum of the accomplished will be somewhat larger, though still small in proportion to the total number of literate men. It has been a radical fault of many modern treatments of the subject that no distinction has been drawn between the

¹ L. Traube in *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie, philosoph.-philolog. Klasse*, 19 (1891), p. 361.

first and second class that we have indicated. It would be logically as absurd to class a tyro, who had painfully mastered six chapters of Chardenal, and a holder of a university Chair together by vaguely saying of both 'that they knew French'.

We have already noted that Bede, at least towards the end of his life, had acquired a sufficient mastery over Greek to carry through an important work of collation and textual criticism on a part of the New Testament. Him at least we can safely assign to our first class.¹ Of Irish monks we may credit Columban and Adamnan with some knowledge of Greek. Indeed, if we could be sure that Columban's early commentary on the Psalms is identical with a Latin translation of Theodore of Mopsuestia, we should have indisputable proof that he knew much more than a smattering.² In Adamnan's case the occurrence here and there of Greek words proves no more than that he, probably in common with many other Irish, had learnt the alphabet and picked up a certain stock of words and phrases. It has sometimes been asserted that Alcuin was something of a Greek scholar. His own works, which have been held to prove this, actually demonstrate the contrary; indeed, they afford us a very instructive explanation of the true state of affairs in his own writings and those of other eighth- and ninth-century authors. Comparison with Alcuin's sources demonstrates that the Greek words and their explanations, occurring in his Biblical commentaries and elsewhere, were taken over bodily from his predecessors.³ Servatus Lupus in one letter requests Einhard to tell him the meaning of certain Greek nouns and Greek phrases employed by Servius.⁴ He discusses the quantity of the second syllable in *blasphemus*, knowing that it is a Greek word, and points out on the authority of Prudentius that it is long. On the other hand, he notes that *Graecus quidam*—probably an Irishman with a little Greek rather than a Greek—had

¹ Cf. above, p. 125.

² Cf. above, p. 110.

³ For example, the *Graeca* in PL., 100, 1014B and 1025A are taken verbally from Jerome (PL., 26, 566A and 597B). Very instructive is the mystical explanation of the name Adam given by Alcuin with a great parade of Greek words (PL., 100, 777B). But this information is borrowed from the pseudo-Cyprianic tract, *De montibus Sina et Sion* (see CSEL., III, 3, p. 108, 5 ff.), a passage also used at greater length by Amalarius of Metz (PL., 105, 1004B-C). Similarly, the technical terms and their definitions in Alcuin's school treatises come from his sources. In *Epist.*, 162, it is true, he cites sentences from the Psalter in Greek, besides using Priscian and Jerome. But it may be questioned whether he knew even the Psalms in Greek at first hand.

⁴ *Epist.*, 5 (MGH. *Epist.*, VI, i, pp. 17, 31).

argued that the syllable was short, a view to which Einhard also adhered.¹ To Gottschalk he writes, in answer to a request to explain certain words, *quamquam non sim nescius Graecorum sermonum proprietates a Graecis potius expectandas*.² It is to be feared that the good abbot was a little disingenuous when he wrote that note, leaving an impression of greater knowledge than he really possessed on his correspondent. At the same time it is obvious that so widely read a man as Lupus must have picked up or at least recognized as Greek a good many words in the Latin authors whom he studied. When he ventures on an etymology he is no better than other men of his time; what he offers was the common property of the better sort of Carolingian schoolmasters, as when he expounds the derivation of *fialas*.³

Even less than Alcuin can Hrabanus, his pupil, aspire to the honour of being called a Grecian.⁴ Walahfrid Strabo, who had been trained at Reichenau before he became for a time the disciple and amanuensis of Hrabanus, was also connected by ties of friendship with St. Gall. It may well have been there that he became interested in the Greek liturgy, and, perhaps with the aid of some Irish teacher, acquired the rudiments of the language. At all events his exceptionally interesting little treatise on ritual and liturgical matters, *De exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*, contains in chapters 6 and 7 etymologies of many Greek ecclesiastical and some other terms.⁵

At St. Gall there were certainly unusual facilities for absorbing at least a beginner's knowledge of Greek; nor is it unlikely that the elementary stages, consisting of learning the alphabet and some portions of the liturgy, were mastered

¹ *ibid.*, 20 (27, 25-30).

² *ibid.*, 30 (39, 5).

³ *ibid.*, 20 (28, 1 ff.). The derivation was common property in the ninth century. It is found, for instance, in Martin of Laon and after him in Remigius. See *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 9 (1925), p. 133.

⁴ Sandys (*History of Classical Scholarship*, I, p. 467) attributes to Hrabanus 'some slight knowledge' of Greek, but himself shows in a note that the only passage he puts forward in support of his thesis was repeated by Hrabanus verbally from Isidore! A comparison of other *Graeca* in Hrabanus demonstrates that they are all borrowed.

⁵ Sandys, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-8, omits to mention this work and the *Graeca* it contains; consequently he says nothing of Walahfrid's knowledge of Greek, for which there is far better evidence than exists in the case of Hrabanus. There are two good editions of the *De exordiis*, one in MGH. Capit., II, pp. 474 ff., the other by A. Knöpfler, in *Veröffentlichungen aus dem kirchenhistorischen Seminar*, München, No. 1 (1890).

by a few of the brethren. The presence of Irish monks there in the eighth and ninth centuries, and the evidence of extant St. Gall manuscripts written by Irish scribes, show whence came the attention given to this language. The library contained some manuscripts of the Psalter and the Gospels in Greek, with or without a Latin interlinear translation.¹ Again the number of surviving St. Gall *codices*, in which the whole or portions of the Greek liturgy occur, is remarkable, although not all of them belong to our period.² Too much must not be made of such evidence. Parts of the liturgy in Greek were used on stated occasions in several western European centres. Greek versions of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, the *Gloria*, or *Kyrie eleison*, sometimes written in Greek, sometimes transliterated into Latin characters, and often with an interlinear Latin translation, are not uncommon in western manuscripts. A ninth-century manuscript in the Vatican (*Reg.* 215), which probably comes from Tours, contains the *Pater noster* in both languages. On a page of a Reichenau *codex*, now in Carlsruhe, the *Gloria* has been inscribed with an interlinear Latin rendering.³ *Harleian*, 5642 (ninth to tenth century), contains the *Gloria* and *Sanctus* partly in Latin, partly in Greek characters.⁴ A *codex* of St. Denys had the *Gloria* and *Credo* in the two languages.⁵ The copyists in *scriptoria* were often familiar with the Greek alphabet, and it is nothing uncommon to find Greek capitals used in writing the abbreviation of *Iesus Christus*.⁶ Sometimes their subscriptions, though in Latin, are added in Greek letters. The tenth-century manuscript of the grammarian Dositheus, which is still at St. Gall, is of uncertain provenance. Such evidence as exists about the transmission of this author suggests that he was, like some other grammarians, chiefly a favourite with the Irish. In any case the manuscript is too late in date to throw light on the state of Greek studies

¹ *Sangall.* 48, contains the four Gospels in Greek with the Latin rendering written over the top. There is an uncial fragment from St. Mark in Greek only in *Sangall.*, 45. *Sangall.*, 1395, has fragments of the Psalms in both languages.

² The following are ninth- and tenth-century examples: *Sangall.* 17, 23, 237, 340, 484. For further particulars see G. Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Hss. der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*.

³ See H. Zimmer, *Glossae Hibernicae*, p. xxiv.

⁴ See *Rheinisches Museum*, 39 (1884), p. 358.

⁵ See *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 4 (1883), p. 577.

⁶ For details of the abbreviations of the sacred name, cf. L. Traube, *Nomina sacra*, pp. 161-3.

at St. Gall in the Carolingian age. Of more relevance to our topic are two manuscripts of Jerome, his commentary on Isaiah (*Sangall.*, 113, ninth century) and that on Ezechiel (*Sangall.*, 117, ninth century), for in both the Greek words in the text are elucidated by marginal translations. The most outstanding literary figure at St. Gall in this epoch was Notker, nicknamed Balbulus (the stammerer). Yet there is no justification whatever for crediting him with more than the most superficial acquaintance with Greek; the evidence to the contrary which has been put forward breaks down on closer examination. To state that he continually used Greek words is contrary to fact,¹ although there is nothing improbable in supposing that he had picked up, as others had, a sprinkling of liturgical and perhaps a few conversational words, from Biblical commentaries or glossaries. On the supposed evidence of Notker, moreover, it has been universally believed that there was in his time a group of monks, cognizant of Greek, who were known by the nickname of *Ellenici fratres*, a proof, as it seemed, of the flourishing condition of Greek studies in the abbey. But, since the supposed *Epistle* of Notker to Lantbert, in which the allusion to the *Ellenici fratres* occurs, has been shown to have nothing to do with Notker, the assumption that there existed in the ninth century at St. Gall a 'Hellenic brotherhood' becomes quite baseless. The document in question, dealing with musical signs, is fathered on him in only one out of nine extant manuscripts containing it, a St. Gall *codex* of the eleventh century. The reference to the *Ellenici fratres* appears in none of the other eight, several being fully a century older, so that it must have been added in the one manuscript on the strength of a statement by the eleventh-century chronicler, Ekkehard IV.²

Ermenrich, who was for some time at the monastery of Ellwangen and ended his career as bishop of Passau (865-874),

¹ Such is the positive statement of J. M. Clark (*Abbey of St. Gall*, p. 109), who apparently is trying to improve on Sandys. The latter (*History of Classical Scholarship*, I, p. 479) more guardedly wrote, 'Notker intersperses Greek words in his Latin', supporting this assertion by a reference to Sequence 37 in PL., 131, 1025A-B. In it we find a few Greek titles for the Persons of the Trinity, words which must have been familiar to a majority of monks. In any case no arguments for Notker's Greek can be based on this Sequence, because its Notkerian authorship is untenable. It was probably composed in France or England. See C. Blume, *Analecta hymnica*, 53 (1911), pp. 152-4.

² The so-called *Epistle to Lantbert* is the subject of a detailed study by Dom R. van Doren, *Influence musicale de l'abbaye de Saint-Gall*,

had studied at Fulda, Reichenau, and St. Gall. Moreover, it has been shown that all the works, sacred and profane—and there are more than thirty of them—which he used or quoted in his long and exceedingly pedantic *Epistle to Grimald* were available in the libraries of the two last-named abbeys. It was probably at St. Gall that he also dabbled in Greek. His incursions into that language, insofar as they do not merely reproduce his sources, are such as he could derive from bilingual glossaries and phrase-books.¹

West of the Rhine there were several centres of Irish influence—Liège in the time of Sedulius, Laon, Rheims, while John Scotus taught there—and it is only in those that we find satisfactory evidence for the active study of Greek. A smattering may have passed also, through Heiric's influence to Auxerre, while Stavelot, or at any rate one of its teachers, Christian, may well have had contacts with Sedulius and Liège. There still exists a Greek Psalter copied by Sedulius, as we learn from the Greek subscription, 'I, Sedulius Scottus, wrote it', and now in the library of the Arsenal (No. 8047) at Paris. The surviving specimens of *Graeca* by Martin of Laon, in his *Scholica Graecarum Glossarum* and in *Laudunensis*, 444, suggest that even the Irish for the most part lacked a thorough understanding of the language.² Yet these efforts at mastering it were decidedly more ambitious than those of their pupils.³ It was certainly a task of some difficulty to render the Greek quotations in Priscian into Latin, especially

chapter x. Since Ekkehard IV clearly let his imagination have free rein at the expense of fact in this instance, we are justified in doubting also his assertion that Notker copied the Catholic Epistles with much toil in Greek (*Casus S. Galli*, ch. 46). The letter, finally, in which Notker requests Salomo (see *Formelbuch des Bischof Salomo*, p. 66) to find some one to translate Origen's commentary on the Song of Songs, provides no satisfactory answer to those other proofs of Notker's lack of Greek. For (1) his language, with a nominative participle hanging in the air without a proper construction, is obscure; (2) the whole letter is petulant in tone, suggesting that Notker was pretending to greater knowledge than he actually possessed; (3) the Notkerian authorship is not absolutely certain.

¹ The *Graeca* occur especially in the versified passages. A line like *Oenon paleon pimelin gallan eleon* (MGH. Epist., V, p. 569, 31), glossed *vinum butyrum bibe lac oleum*, is just a string of vocables from a word-list forced into the semblance of a hexameter. On the other hand, the editors do not appear to have noticed that the line (*ibid.*, p. 573, 27), *Anathole et disis, nunc psalle mesymbria et arctos*, is a reminiscence from Alcuin. For Alcuin's source see above, p. 192, note 3.

² For details cf. M. L. W. Laistner, *History*, 9 (1924), pp. 177-87.

³ For instance, Remigius's Greek, judging by what is given in his

the Homeric tags. It must be admitted that in essaying to do this Martin often blundered badly.

Christian of Stavelot's occupation with Greek appears to have been entirely in the interests of Biblical exegesis and of a better understanding of the Bible by comparing the Greek with the Latin version.¹ A similar use of Greek for theological ends confronts us in a letter penned by an unidentified Irish scholar about the middle of the ninth century. He is concerned with the translation and textual criticism of the Psalter and quotes a number of passages from it in Greek. He also appends brief explanations of the critical signs, five in number, that were found in ancient manuscripts of the Psalms. Although he makes use of early authorities particularly Jerome, there can be no doubt that his comparisons of the two languages are based on adequate personal knowledge.²

Undoubtedly John Scotus, who in some other respects was perhaps the most remarkable man of his age, completely outstripped his contemporaries as a Grecian. He showed this chiefly by translating difficult Greek authors, but he also tried his hand, though only with moderate success, at writing Greek verse. It was probably near the end of the fifth century of our era that an unknown author composed four treatises and ten letters in which, while deeply imbued with Neoplatonic doctrines himself, he strove to build up a system of Christian mysticism intended to combat that of the Neoplatonists. He called himself Dionysius, claimed to be a pupil of St. Paul, and in his writings introduced by name sundry persons who flourished in the first century after Christ, thereby strengthening the impression that his books were genuine products of the sub-Apostolic age. He was more successful in making posterity believe this gross fiction than he had perhaps dared to hope. Already in the early sixth century his identity with Dionysius the Areopagite was generally assumed in the East,

commentaries on Martianus and on Boethius's *De consolazione* (cf. H. J. Stewart in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 17 [1916], pp. 22-42), was very attenuated.

¹ See Laistner in *Harvard Theological Review*, 20 (1927), pp. 142-5. The reference, in note 49 in that article, to the *Ellenici fratres* should now be deleted.

² The letter will be found in MGH. Epist., VI, pp. 201 ff. The provenance of the MSS. in which the letter occurs makes it probable that the writer lived in Northern Italy. Hence the editors and Hellmann (*Sedulius Scottus*, p. 95 with note 2) reject Dom Morin's suggestion that the author was no less a person than Sedulius.

although Hypatius of Ephesus in 533 openly declared the works a forgery. In the West, too, they were accepted from the first, and, in spite of the expressed doubts of Laurentius Valla in the fifteenth, remained virtually unquestioned till the seventeenth century. Moreover, in the West a curious complication was introduced by the identification at the beginning of the ninth century of the Parisian martyr, Dionysius (St. Denys), with the pseudo-Areopagite. For giving not merely currency but authority to this ingenious, if glaring, fiction, the abbot, Hilduin, and the monks of St. Denys were apparently responsible.¹ The first record of the Greek original of the pseudo-Dionysius in the West is found in a letter sent by Paul I to Pippin in 753, together with a manuscript of the treatises. In 827 the Byzantine emperor Michael, amongst other valuable gifts which he sent by an embassy to Louis the Pious, included a fine uncial manuscript of the pseudo-Dionysius. Between that date and 835 a Latin version seems to have become available, although its author is unknown.² In the next generation John Scotus was commissioned by Charles the Bald to undertake this far from easy task more thoroughly. His rendering was finished not later than 858 and included all four tracts as well as the ten letters of the Greek original. Furthermore, he made other translations from the Greek. Again at the king's request he produced a Latin version of Maximus's *Ambigua*. This work was made up of difficult passages from the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus together with a commentary. Since Maximus used the pseudo-Dionysius for his exposition, the Latin translator when working on Maximus was on ground that was already in part familiar.³ Further, it is not improbable that the *Solutiones* of Priscianus Lydus found a translator in John. The Greek original of this work, a treatise composed in the sixth century and dealing with various topics of natural science and natural history, is lost. But there are reasonable grounds for at-

¹ This long and intricate story has been unravelled by G. Théry in *Moyen Age*, sér. 2, 25 (1923), pp. 111 ff., and in *Mélanges Mandonnet*, II (Paris, 1930), pp. 23-30.

² For a demonstration that John Scotus had a predecessor and used his work, cf. P. Lehmann in *Revue bénédictine*, 35 (1923), pp. 81 ff.

³ The philosophic works and translations of John Scotus will be found in PL., 122. To the fragments there printed as coming from the translation of the *Ambigua* must be added the short piece, *De egressu et regressu animae* (*ibid.*, 1023-1024), as P. Lehmann has shown (*Hermes*, 52 [1917], pp. 112 ff.).

tributing to John Scotus the surviving Latin rendering.¹ The commentaries which John composed to elucidate further the meaning of the pseudo-Dionysius, and in places also to justify his own translation, afford additional proof that his linguistic equipment was very respectable. Especially noteworthy, moreover, in an epoch when allegorical interpretation was all but universal, is the fact that he assigns to this quite a secondary place in the commentaries. His primary purpose there was to explain difficult terms. There is a certain humour to be found in the circumstance that the only man whose knowledge of Greek was comparable to that of John Scotus was asked to criticize the Irishman's production. As early as 859 Pope Nicolas I wrote to Charles the Bald complaining that the new Latin version of the pseudo-Dionysius had not been sent to him at once for inspection. He requested that the omission be made good without delay. Nothing further developed from this at the time; but some fifteen years later John VIII instructed Anastasius, who after a stormy career was then established as Papal librarian, to go over the new Latin translation carefully. In 875 it was returned to Charles with the corrections, additions, and criticisms of Anastasius, who had utilized Greek *scholia* on the pseudo-Dionysius for his revision. It is to be regretted that it is in this emended form that John Scotus's work has survived. For, although Anastasius states that he learnt Greek in his youth, and though he subsequently had excellent opportunities for improving his knowledge, because he had visited Constantinople, his own numerous translations do not impress one with any peculiar excellence. They include renderings of Greek saints' lives, Theophanes' *Chronicle*, and of the Acts of the seventh and eighth Councils of Constantinople. The latter he had himself attended. While his *Chronographia* is more in the nature of an adaptation than an exact translation of Theophanes and some other Greek chroniclers, his other versions are extremely literal. His turns of phrase from one language into the other are frequently clumsy; in many places they betray an incomplete understanding of the original. In short, although the mere fact that he translated Greek authors in an age when Greek was little known outside the confines of the Byzantine empire has led to his being exalted

¹ This was questioned by I. Bywater in his edition of Priscianus Lydus (Berlin, 1886); but more recently the view of the first editor, Quicherat, has been upheld. Cf. L. Traube in E. K. Rand, *Johannes Scotus*, p. ix, note 1, and Manitius, I, p. 331.

as a great Hellenist, closer study of his works shows that his shortcomings were both numerous and grave.¹ This being so, the attitude of Anastasius to John Scotus can only amuse, if it does not irritate, the reader. For in the letter to Charles, which accompanied the revised translation, he expresses surprise that John, *ille vir barbarus* from a remote part of the world, should have attained such a mastery of Greek.² Indeed, John is singularly blest, since it is the Holy Spirit which has inspired him to fulfil his task. After such patronizing praise Anastasius proceeds to carp at John's translations on account of their undue faithfulness to the original and their occasional obscurity. This criticism is to some extent justified. But to imply, as Anastasius does, that John himself was confused is absurd. As his own philosophical *magnum opus* proved, he himself had mastered the meaning of the pseudo-Dionysius even though he could not always make it simply intelligible to others in a Latin translation. If John was alive in 875, and was shown or had report of the letter, his Irish sense of humour must have been tickled at Anastasius's reference to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. It was surely a trifle unfortunate, in view of Anastasius's subsequent criticisms! One cannot help feeling that Anastasius was piqued that there lived in Neustria one who was a better Greek scholar than himself, and his assumption of modesty in several letters must not be taken too seriously. He admits that he himself translated very literally.³ He expects to be criticized, but comforts himself with the modest reflection that his fate will resemble St. Jerome's. Yet we cannot but sympathize with him when he expresses the hope that any critic will come out into the open against him instead of 'lacerating his brother's flesh behind his back with the tooth of envy'.⁴

An attempt has been made to appraise fairly the evidence provided by authors and manuscripts of the Carolingian age. The conclusion to be drawn from it is as decisive as it is unflattering to the pretensions of some writers of that epoch. John Scotus and Anastasius were both capable of making serious errors. Nevertheless they must be put in a class by

¹ Cf., for instance, the strictures of G. Théry in *Moyen Age*, sér. 2, 25 (1923), pp. 29 ff.

² *Epist.*, 13 (MGH. *Epist.*, VII, pp. 430-34).

³ For instance, MGH. *Epist.*, VII, p. 411, 6; 432, 1.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 442, 19—*nec post dorsum fratris carnes invidentiae dente decerpat.*

themselves as Greek scholars. Far more limited was the acquaintance with a second learned language of men like Sedulius, Martin of Laon, and a handful of others. Yet their purpose was serious, even if their performance fell greatly short of accurate understanding or translation. A long way behind them is the little band of those whose Greek amounted not even to an elementary knowledge of the *language*, but only to familiarity with the alphabet and with a sprinkling of common words or phrases. To repeat a small portion of the Greek liturgy was no more than a feat of memorization; that it was a mechanical process is suggested by the more or less phonetic transcriptions into Latin characters that still survive. In some quarters the introduction of a Greek word in a Latin treatise or even poem was a mark of culture and high style. The writer who aspired to these qualities would make the most of the few tags that he had acquired from his teachers or culled himself from some Latin author or some glossary to which he had access. This mannerism gave its user a semblance of learning to which he was not entitled. His contemporaries were sometimes misled by outward appearances. Others in more recent times have fallen into the same error, but with far less excuse.

CHAPTER XI

THE LITERATURE OF THE CAROLINGIAN AGE

(a) THE STUDY OF CLASSICAL LATIN LITERATURE

LIKE some uncharted comet, the Irishman Sedulius appeared in Liège about the middle of the ninth century, to vanish again after a decade (c. 848–858) as mysteriously as he had come. Evidently an attractive personality, endowed also with a certain gift for composing occasional verse, he enjoyed the goodwill and friendship of royalty and nobility no less than of his ecclesiastical superiors. As a scholar he was versatile though hardly profound. But, apart from his excursions into Biblical exegesis and political theory and his poetic efforts, which will be considered in subsequent chapters, he was one of a small group of men who ventured into the more advanced branches of *grammatica*. For the main interest of his *collectaneum*, or collection of excerpts, lies in the wide variety of authors with which he had some acquaintance. Of these, if we leave aside Patristic selections, the rarer were the treatises on warfare and on tactics by Vegetius and by Frontinus, Valerius Maximus, the Augustan History, and Macrobius's commentary on the *Dream of Scipio* from Cicero's *De republica*. Still more striking is the Irishman's rather extensive knowledge of Cicero. For we find extracts from the *De inventione*, *Paradoxa*, the fourth and fifth books of the *Tusculan Disputations*, the *Philippics*, and the orations, *Pro Fonteio*, *Pro Flacco*, and *In Pisonem*. That Sedulius had access to no less than seven works by Rome's greatest prose writer is a very remarkable circumstance, when it is remembered that very few scholars of the Carolingian age knew more than one or two. For, although the total number of Ciceronian writings then known was considerable, most libraries possessed only single works, or at the most two or three.¹ The purpose which Sedulius had in view in making these short excerpts from classical and post-classical authors was to assemble in a brief compass

¹ For further details the reader may consult P. Schwenke in *Philologus, Supplementband*, 5, pp. 402–9, and Manitius, I, pp. 481–2.

what might be regarded as pithy observations and moral maxims. In consequence neither questions of textual criticism nor, often enough, the subject matter of what he was reading have any compelling interest for him. Indeed, he does not hesitate to ignore the context of, for example, passages in a Ciceronian speech appropriate to a particular case, since he is intent only on what, in isolation, would pass as sentiments of general application. Most of the extracts are short; but his concern for ethics led him to include a few longer selections from the *De inventione* and the fourth book of the *Tusculan Disputations*. He was, moreover, not without some understanding of philosophical questions other than ethical. In addition he had a practical interest in the style of his authors, noting down sentences that contained a striking phrase or turn of expression, such as he or his readers could use to advantage in their own literary efforts. Superior to most Carolingian scholars as a student of Cicero, Sedulius was himself in this respect the inferior of Hadoardus and Lupus. The former, who is not named by any contemporary or later mediaeval writer, is known only as the author of a lengthy *collectaneum* preserved in a single manuscript.¹ In an introductory poem he informs the reader that he is a priest and a librarian.² He seems to have lived in Neustria, but the book collection that was under his care has so far not been identified.³ This is the more tantalizing as Hadoard's library must in some respects have been unique in his day. His was a laborious compilation. Out of two hundred and twenty-six small folios in the manuscript two-thirds are filled with extracts from the philosophical works and the *De oratore* of Cicero. The remaining pages contain passages from Macrobius's commentary on the *Dream of Scipio*, the sixth and seventh books of Martianus Capella, and the sayings of Publius Syrus. From some excerpts, interspersed here and there, we see that Hadoardus also had access to the *Jugurtha* and *Catiline* of Sallust and to Servius's commentary on the *Aeneid*.

¹ *Vatican. Reg.*, 1762; it is probably an autograph.

² Lines 31-2, 111-12. The *collectaneum* was published by Schwenke in *Philologus, Supplementband*, 5.

³ The abbey of Bec has been suggested (cf. Manitius, I, pp. 480-1) on the ground that its library in the twelfth century had the same *corpus* of Ciceronian works as Hadoard knew, and that an important extant manuscript of Cicero written in the ninth century was at Avranches, which had close relations with Bec. Yet it is difficult to believe that a monastery which before the eleventh century was small and obscure should have possessed so rich a library in the ninth.

In the library under his direction he had the *De oratore* and all the philosophical works of Cicero that the Middle Ages ever knew except the *Topica*, an absolutely isolated phenomenon at that date, since we do not again hear of so complete a set until the twelfth and following centuries.¹ The purpose which he set himself at the same time explains his method of work. He appears, as he read first this and then that treatise, to have jotted down paragraphs or sentences which struck him on wax tablets. Subsequently he grouped this great mass of material under a number of different headings, *de animi qualitate*, *de sapientia*, and so forth, and wrote it down in permanent form. The result is that not even the extracts from any single Ciceronian work are given consecutively but are brought together in rather haphazard fashion. More often passages from several books are assembled in a given section. If that were all, such an arrangement might conceivably be justified by the aim of the compiler to construct separate chapters on different philosophical or ethical topics from his sources, even though we might deprecate the lack of scholarly method. But the priest has an uneasy conscience by reason of his occupation with a pagan philosopher. The moralizing tendency is far more pronounced than in his younger contemporary, Sedulius. It leads him to tamper with his texts in the interests of Christian morality and religion. Anything which might seem inimical or offensive to these was omitted. Certain types of phrase in Cicero were regularly emended by Hadoardus. *Dei* or *dei immortales* are changed to *deus* and *deus immortalis*. *Iurarem per Iovem deosque penates* (*Academ.*, 65) appears in Hadoardus as *Iurarem per deum*. Cicero's *est enim mundus quasi communis deorum atque hominum domus aut urbs utrorumque* (*De nat. deor.*, 2, 154) is garbled so that it becomes *est enim deus quasi rationalium spirituum domus aut urbs*. Our compiler is not always consistent, for in some places he has substituted for the names of Epicurus, Cleanthes, or Diogenes a vague *quidam* or *alius*; in others Cicero's words have been left unchanged. The descriptive parts of the Ciceronian dialogues and the personal reminiscences of the orator, like the historical material in general, had no attraction for Hadoardus who excised them relentlessly. Lastly, one is perhaps not surprised that he

¹ The list includes all the philosophical works now extant save the *De finibus*, the second recension of the *Academica* and the fragments of the *De republica*. Hadoardus did not apparently have the *Dream of Scipio*, although, like Sedulius, he knew Macrobius's commentary.

did not always fully comprehend his author. Yet, in spite of all, and even though the modern editor of Cicero can make only the most discriminating use of Hadoardus's text, the lover of the classics must be filled with kindly feelings for the Carolingian librarian who spent so many hours in quiet communion with his books. We may picture him, *stylus* or pen in hand, noting down page after page from the wisdom of the ancients, the while a passing twinge darted through him for spending his time with Cicero rather than with the Bible or the Fathers; then, after a pause, relapsing once more into the fatal lure of his self-imposed labour of love.

Propter se ipsam appetenda sapientia! this sentiment, occurring in a letter full of youthful enthusiasm, yet couched in terms of respectful admiration which Lupus addressed to the venerable Einhard, then abbot of Seligenstadt, might well have been chosen by him as the motto of his life. For, compared with other men of the Carolingian age, he achieved as solitary a pre-eminence in the field of humanistic studies as his contemporary, John Scotus, did in philosophy.

Lupus was born during the last decade of Charlemagne's reign and was educated at Ferrières. In this abbey the Alcuinian ideals and methods must have been preserved for several generations, for Sigulfus who became abbot in 796 was Alcuin's pupil and is credited with the establishment of a monastic school there. And, just as the abbacy passed from Sigulfus to his pupil, Adalbert, so in 822 a disciple of Adalbert, Aldric, entered into the succession. When Lupus was a learner there the scholastic resources of the monastery do not seem to have been great. He implies that the study of the seven liberal arts was not looked on with favour, just as, some years later, he lamented the growing decline in culture in more general terms. The poverty of Ferrières compared with many other religious houses in Neustria was doubtless a contributing cause, if only because the resources of the library at Ferrières, at least until Lupus became abbot, appear to have been very limited. When Lupus was about twenty-five and had already been ordained a deacon, he was sent by Aldric to Fulda in order to complete his studies. Nothing shows more perspicuously how within a quarter of a century the centre of higher education had shifted from the western to the eastern half of the Frankish empire. During the years that Lupus spent at Fulda, he enjoyed the tuition and friendship of the greatest teacher of the day, Hrabanus, who had become head of the abbey in 822. He

corresponded with Einhard and somewhat later visited him at Seligenstadt, and he made many friends who in later years became, like himself, the heads of religious houses. With them he kept up a regular correspondence on literary and theological subjects after he had returned to Ferrières in 836. Six years later he succeeded Odo as abbot. During his twenty years' tenure of this office he was an extremely busy man.¹ For, in addition to his abbatial duties, he was frequently summoned to court; he was obliged on several occasions to take part in Charles the Bald's campaigns; more than once he was required to act as an emissary of the king; and he attended no less than ten ecclesiastical synods and three diets. It is well to bear these facts in mind in order better to appreciate the greatness of his achievement as a teacher and a scholar. However busy he was with affairs, his enthusiasm for humanistic studies and his industry never flagged. That we are so well informed about his literary activities is due to the survival of well over a hundred letters whose character in that age is unique.² One particular interest of his, moreover, can now be further illustrated with the help of extant manuscripts that were once in his hands. First in importance, since it was written by Lupus throughout, is a *codex* of Cicero's *De oratore*, now in the British Museum (*Harleian*, 2736). The date at which he wrote it is not established with complete certainty, but it is not unlikely that he made the copy from a manuscript which he borrowed from Einhard in 835 or 836.³ Certainly he was already an expert scribe before this date, since he had, while still at Fulda, written and illuminated a large manuscript, in which five Germanic law codes were brought together. Beeson lists six other *codices* which were revised or annotated by Lupus. They are the Valerius Maximus at Berne (no. 366), Aulus Gellius (*Regin.* 597) and Ti. Claudius Donatus's commentary on the first six books of the *Aeneid* (*Regin.* 1484) in the Vatican, and three manuscripts now in Paris, Cicero's *De inventione*,⁴ Livy, Books VI to X (*Lat.* 5726) and the

¹ The latest letter that can be dated was written in 862. In the same year Lupus's name appears in the Acts of the synod of Pistes.

² Of the 133 letters published together in MGH. Epist., VI, 106 are by Lupus. An edition of the text with a parallel French translation by E. Levillain is in process of publication.

³ *Harleian*, 2736, has now been published in facsimile by C. H. Beeson under the title *Servatus Lupus as scribe and text critic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930).

⁴ See above, p. 172.

Letters of Symmachus (*Lat.* 8623). It is significant, as showing the close connexion between Ferrières and Tours in Lupus's time, that three of these, *Paris. lat.* 7774A, 5726, and *Vat. Regin.* 1484, are *libri Turonenses*. Two further manuscripts must be mentioned in the present context. In a *codex* of Augustine's sermons, now in the Vatican (*Lat.* 474), there is an entry on folio 95r to the effect that the *codex* up to that point had been collated with the exemplar and punctuated by Lupus. Secondly, a manuscript of Jerome's translation of Eusebius's *Chronicle*, now in Berlin (no. 126), which was written at Tours, contains, according to Rand, corrections by the abbot of Ferrières.¹

The contents of his correspondence are astonishingly varied. The letters illustrate the abbot's unceasing care for his monastery and the labours of the brethren in orchard and field, as well as in the school, oratory, and *scriptorium*. The abbey had expert craftsmen too, for we find Lupus sending an ivory comb to the bishop of Poitiers and finely cut and polished jewels to the king.² The difficulties and dangers of travel were great owing to robbers and pirates. Indeed, Ferrières itself was more than once in danger from Norman sea-raiders. It was not always safe to send manuscripts from one library to another, especially if the volume was too bulky to conceal about the person.³ There are many allusions to the constant campaigns of Charles the Bald and the participation of Lupus and some of his monks in them, as well as to the abbot's various missions. On one such occasion he was sent to Burgundy and was unfortunate enough to lose ten horses, on another he visited Brittany.⁴ But the predominant theme of the letters is literature and related topics. Lupus was indefatigable in increasing the resources of his library. He borrowed manuscripts from Einhard, from Tours, Prüm, Fulda, and other monasteries; he even wrote to Altsigis

¹ E. K. Rand, *Manuscripts of Tours*, No. 72. Rand does not mention that this chronicle is twice cited in the *Life of St. Maximin* (MGH. Script. Merov., III, pp. 73 ff.). This is an adaptation of an older biography of the saint, and there is no reason to doubt that Lupus was its author. The quotations from Jerome occur in passages which Lupus added to the older *vita*. See also below, p. 269, n. 1.

² *Epist.*, 39 and 96.

³ Cf. *Epist.*, 20 and particularly 76, in which Lupus writes to Hincmar of Rheims that he is afraid to send him a work of Bede 'because the book is so large that it cannot be concealed in the folds of one's dress nor conveniently stowed away in a wallet.'

⁴ *Epist.* 32 and 85.

of York and to Pope Benedict III. When he aimed merely to get a copy made at Ferrières of some book that its library lacked he was doing no more than was done by many scholarly librarians and abbots of his time. What is unparalleled is his unflagging eagerness to obtain a second manuscript of some work that he already possessed in order to collate the two and improve his own copy. In some cases his own *codex* was defective so that he sought another in order to fill up *lacunae*. In such circumstances he applied to Benedict III for Cicero's *De oratore* and for Quintilian.¹ His own manuscripts of these treatises were incomplete and his previous efforts to get the books from York (*Epist.* 62) had evidently been unsuccessful. The list of secular authors with which he was familiar is notable. Of Cicero he knew, besides the *De inventione* and *De oratore*, the *Verrines*, *Tusculan Disputations*, *De officiis*, *De senectute*, a collection of letters, and the translation of Aratus's *Phaenomena*. He borrowed copies from Ansbald of Prüm so that he might amplify his own defective copy of the *Aratea*, and that by comparing two manuscripts of the letters he might establish an improved text.² Vergil, Horace's *Satires*, the treatise *ad Herennium*, some Livy—how much we do not know, but the Paris manuscript which he revised contains only Books VI to X—Sallust's *Catiline* and *Jugurtha*, Caesar's *Gallic Wars*, Valerius Maximus, Suetonius, Aulus Gellius, and perhaps Martial,³ swell the series of classical authors. We can, moreover, postulate safely a wide acquaintance with grammarians and commentators, although those actually named or quoted by him are not specially numerous.⁴ Besides the *De arithmetica* and the commentary on Cicero's *Topica*, Lupus knew also the *De consolatione* of Boethius, and he was familiar with the Latin Josephus.

Admiration for the unusual quality of Lupus's classical scholarship has led most modern writers to ignore or minimize his attainments as a theologian. It is true that, apart

¹ *Epist.* 103.

² *Epist.* 69.

³ He quotes Martial twice in *Letter* 20. It is possible that he obtained the citations from an intermediate source, or else he may have had a selection of Martial's epigrams in some *collectaneum* similar to that in the ninth century Fleury MS. now in Leyden (*Voss. lat. Q* 86), on which see Rand in *Philological Quarterly*, 1 (1922), pp. 258 ff. It would certainly be rash to assume that Lupus had a complete text of Martial.

⁴ For example, he may have known Nonius Marcellus's dictionary. This is suggested by his use of *succussatura* and *tolutim* in *Epist.* 120. The former occurs in our copies of Nonius, the latter in the *Glossae Nonii* printed in CGL., V, 651, 46.

from two short saints' lives, his only contribution to theological literature was a single treatise. It is entitled *Liber de tribus quaestionibus*; in it three topics are discussed, the nature of free will, predestination, and redemption. But by writing it Lupus not only took part in the most lively ecclesiastical controversy of his age. He also, by the method of his treatment, showed himself a skilled dialectician at a time when dialectics were still very imperfectly developed.¹ As an appendix to this tract Lupus published a *collectaneum* of passages from Patristic literature in support of his arguments. From it and from abundant references and quotations in his letters, in which he occasionally discoursed on theological questions, it is obvious that Lupus knew the Bible intimately² and had read widely in theological authors, from Ambrose to Alcuin and Hrabanus, including less-known works like a Latin version of Chrysostom's homily on the Epistle to the Hebrews and Faustus of Riez' treatise on Divine Grace and free will. If, then, we would have a whole not a partial view of Lupus as an intellectual force in the ninth century, it is essential to take into account his occupation with a branch of knowledge in which he did write one book, as well as his devotion to classical literature, which he signaled in none but only in his correspondence.

The topics on which he touched in the letters and the queries of others to which he sent replies are remarkably varied. At one time he discusses metrical and grammatical points in answer to an inquiry from Adalgaudus, abbot of Fleury, illustrating his remarks with quotations from Vergil, Priscian, Servius, and Juvenius³; at another he informs Alcuin, a monk at Mayence, of the proper scansion of *biblioteca* and *statera*, and explains the formation of certain unusual words, like *nundinae* and *sistrum*.⁴ The last-named correspondent on the same occasion received a disquisition on comets from his learned friend together with references to Vergil, Justin, and Josephus. To Gottschalk Lupus writes for the purpose of elucidating a passage in Augustine's *City of God* (22, 29) concerning the appearance of Christ in bodily form after the Resurrection.⁵ With the help of a Servius

¹ Hence Grabmann (I, p. 198) considered him sufficiently important to include amongst the forerunners of scholasticism.

² There are in the letters more than 150 quotations from or reminiscences of the Old and New Testament and of deuterocanonical books like Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus.

³ *Epist.* 8.

⁴ *ibid.*, 20.

⁵ *ibid.*, 30.

quotation he seeks to enlighten another friend on the meaning of the words, *pater patratus*.¹ Citing a sentence from Valerius Maximus, he would explain to Charles the Bald that the secret of Rome's success as an imperial power was the high sense of public duty exhibited by her senatorial rulers.² His method in the extant manuscripts on which he worked as a scribe or textual critic is not without interest.³ In the Harleian manuscript he left vacant spaces wherever a word was missing in his *exemplar* or where he suspected a corruption. The *lacunae* he planned to fill in as far as possible when opportunity of comparing another *codex* arose. He also frequently marks places where there is no omission in the manuscript, if he fails to understand the text, or if he thinks that it contains some error, or even if he merely desires to note for future use some point that interests him. Moreover, there is a goodly sprinkling of marginal or interlinear corrections and variant readings in the margins of the various Lupus manuscripts. Finally, in three of them, the Harleian Cicero, the Berne Valerius Maximus, and the Vatican Gellius, he wrote specially in the margin many words which for some reason or other seemed to him noteworthy. Some he may have regarded as useful to enlarge his own literary vocabulary, others he may have intended to explain to his pupils when lecturing on the authors in question, or, more generally, when teaching them the finer points of Latin composition. One aspect, or rather result, of Lupus's literary work must not be overlooked. In his early letter to Einhard (*Epist.* 1) he appears to imply that even in the earlier stages of his education, which he received at Ferrières, he was already a keen Ciceronian. No better proof of the thoroughness with which he had studied and absorbed the Roman orator can be adduced than his own literary style. No writer since Bede was a master of such pure latinity as Lupus, although the styles of the two men are quite dissimilar. Cicero certainly had a large share in forming Lupus's, but the influence of the Vulgate is also very apparent. There is nothing very surprising in the fact that Lupus's mode of expression varies to some extent according to his correspondent. To near and dear friends, like Marcward of Prüm, he writes in a simple straightforward manner; in addressing Charles the Bald or some eminent ecclesiastic whom he knows but dis-

¹ *Epist.* 15.² *ibid.*, 93.³ Full details of Lupus's procedure will be found in C. H. Beeson's *Servatus Lupus*, pp. 21-40.

tantly, his expressions are perceptibly more high-flown. He then indulges in more citations, especially from the Scriptures, and he allows himself the occasional use of what Horace once described as *ampullae*.¹ Even then, however, his ear and his taste are too good to let him lapse into the turgid and often tortuous periods affected, for example, by his contemporary, Anastasius.

Lupus, who lamented in general terms what he believed to be the degeneracy of the times, and in particular deplored the decline in scholarship, was one of the men to whom the revival of letters under Charles the Bald was chiefly due.² Nor did his influence die with him. Something of his ideals and methods doubtless lived on in many of his pupils, who in turn passed on what they had learnt to a third generation. Yet so imperfect are our records that the handing on of this tradition can only be illustrated in a single instance. Few of Lupus's disciples are even known by name, but one of them was Heiric (c. 841-876). Entering the monastery of Auxerre as a young boy he received his early education there. On attaining to man's estate he pursued his studies for a while at Ferrières, Laon, and Soissons. The combination is very important; for it meant that a second tradition, different from Lupus's, helped to mould Heiric's mind, that of the Irish monks at Laon. Heiric's chief claim to literary fame is a long poem on St. Germanus of Auxerre, but he also left behind certain other works which are a direct outcome of his studies under Lupus at Ferrières. In several manuscripts there is preserved a collection of extracts, some of considerable length, from Suetonius and Valerius Maximus. They were taken down by Heiric from the lectures and dictation of Lupus, whose detailed study of these authors has already been noted. Other writers excerpted by the monk of Auxerre were Caecilius Balbus's *Sententiae philosophorum*, another

¹ Horace, *A.P.* 97. He meant ornate phrases like an elaborately shaped or decorated vase.

² Cf. *Epist.* 32, 64, 126; and the outburst in the *Life of St. Maximin*, ch. 4—Sed, o nostri temporis mores degeneri! omnes pene iam nervi pristini roboris considerunt. levibus terroribus fracta cessit constantia. pluris pecunia quam iustitia aestimatur. quis iam imperatoribus divinorum praeceptorum reserare salutarem severitatem non reformidet? quis eis sua pericula, zelo divini timoris accensus, absque furo adulationis aperiat? Incidentally, this passage with its Ciceronian thunder would be sufficient by itself to establish Lupus's authorship of this *Life*. The sympathy of Charles to Lupus's endeavours is mirrored in *Epist.* 119.

collection of moral maxims derived from various sources, Solinus, and Petronius. He also appears, when established as a teacher at Auxerre, to have studied and lectured on the Roman satirists. Reminiscences in his poem, moreover, make it plain that he was acquainted with the *Odes* and *Epodes* of Horace.¹ His fame as an educator and scholar was deservedly great, and the two streams of cultural influence, from Ferrières and from Laon, which were united in him, were transmitted on to numerous pupils. The best known of these were Hucbald and Remigius. The latter succeeded his master for a while at Auxerre ; but in 893 he and Hucbald, were called to Rheims. There the two worked to improve the school and its educational standards, which seem to have lapsed sadly after the death of John Scotus. During the last years of his life Remigius taught at Paris, where amongst other pupils he instructed Odo, destined in later life to be the second abbot of Cluny. Untiring as a teacher, Remigius found time also for a vast quantity of writing. He was an indefatigable commentator whose voluminous disquisitions on more than a dozen different authors enjoyed a greater popularity than their contents or their method merited. In connexion with the liberal arts he expounded Donatus, Phocas, Eutyches, Priscian, Bede's tract on metrics, and, above all, Martianus Capella. The secular writers who engaged his attention and gave employment to his pen were Juvenal, the *Disticha Catonis*, Sedulius, and perhaps Terence and Boethius's *De consolazione*. His theological studies included a treatise on the Mass, commentaries on Genesis and on the Psalms, as well as on Boethius's *Tractates*. And there are some other works whose authorship is more doubtful, although their general tenor suggests that they at least were products of Remigius's school. Only a portion of this enormous output has survived and of this only a fraction has been published. We are left with the impression that Remigius's didactic zeal greatly outstripped his natural gifts. Furthermore, it would have taken an intellectual giant to combine so prolific an authorship with great originality or marked profundity of thought and method. Remigius's reading had been wide rather than deep. He borrows wholesale from his predecessors and commonly omits to indicate the source of his indebtedness. Among recent works the expositions of John Scotus and of his old teacher Heiric appear to have been used with much freedom, though, in the case of the former,

¹ Cf. L. Traube's edition and his note 3 in MGH. Poet., III, p. 424.

not always with perfect understanding. Another Irishman from whom he borrowed was Martin of Laon.¹ Yet, in spite of all, the fact remains that, while he did not as a rule probe deeply, he crowded so much information, miscellaneous and not always well digested though it was, into his writings, avoiding at the same time prolixity in his own additions, that some at least of his expositions, especially those on Donatus and on Martianus, drove earlier commentaries out of the field.

(b) HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

It is scarcely surprising that the study of history and geography fared rather poorly in the early Middle Ages. If historical writing was to be treated, as it was by the majority of Greek and Roman authors, as a form of literary art, then it required a degree of culture and stylistic development to which none of the subjects of Charlemagne and his successors could aspire. If, on the other hand, the artistic side be disregarded, and the only criterion by which to judge historical works is taken to be an accurate presentation of events and a proper understanding of their interrelation, together with an intelligent appraisal of the part played by the human actors in them, then the character of the times and the circumstances in which histories or annals were composed were too often unfavourable to the attainment of even approximately high standards. Penetrating analysis of historical *data* presupposes either deep and wide reading, coupled with a vivid imagination, or else, especially if the field covered be narrower, at least a personal experience of affairs. Where the second existed, as it did, for example, in the case of Nithard, a presentation resulted which, if it was stylistically mediocre, had undoubted merits as an outspoken and shrewd record of important events. But there was one factor which made even Nithard's achievement a rarity amongst writers of contemporary history, namely the fear of authority or a partiality for ruling princes. The latter detrimentally affected even Einhard, so that what was amiable in the man became a fault in the biographer.

¹ Notably in the Martianus commentary; see *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 9 (1925), pp. 130 ff. But traces of Martin's *Scholica* occur also in the commentary on Sedulius's *Paschal Hymn*, of which J. Huemer has printed some extracts in his edition of the poet (CSEL., X). Cf., for instance, Martin's *Schol.* P.40 and Huemer, p. 332, 17-20; *Schol.* M1 and Huemer, p. 348, 27-9.

An important note on Remigius has recently been published by Manitius in *Neues Archiv.*, 49 (1930), pp. 173-83.

A great body of annalistic literature compiled in the eighth and ninth centuries has survived. Unhappily the appraisal of its historical value is inseparably linked with the origin of the different annals and the nature of their interdependence, and there is still no sort of unanimity amongst modern critics regarding the intricate problems involved. At an even earlier date it had doubtless been customary in some monasteries to jot down in the briefest possible form any noteworthy occurrences, whether local or affecting a wider area, on the monastic calendars used for calculating the correct date of Easter. Such Easter tables, moreover, might be copied in this or that abbey for the benefit of another. When they began to contain historical *marginalia*, those were copied as well, and perhaps augmented in their new home. Such would be the genesis of the simplest annalistic records. It is, however, a pure hypothesis, and at the same time one which finds no support from surviving material, that there once existed numerous early annals of this kind. The annals of the Carolingian age may be divided broadly into two classes, the longer and the shorter; both represent a much more advanced type of historical composition. The longer, or as they are now usually called, the *Royal Annals* are identical with the compilation formerly known as the *Annales Laurissenses maiores*. But their character precludes the possibility of their composition at Lorsch or in any other monastery. They have the king as their central figure, and they chronicle his campaigns and the chief measures of his government. They begin in 741 and extend to 829. The greatest diversity of opinion has reigned in modern times with regard to their authorship. More particularly efforts have been repeatedly made to prove that Einhard was the author of some portion. The different, and for the most part mutually destructive, theories which have been voiced, attributing this or that section to Charlemagne's biographer, when marshalled together read like a *reductio ad absurdum* of criticism. It may safely be said that Einhard cannot have had any part in their composition.¹ At the same time it is clear that not one but several authors wrote successive sections. The so-called *Annales Bertiniani* form a continuation of the *Royal Annals* and extend to the year 882. The writers of almost the whole of that compilation are known; for the section from 835 to 861 was the work of Prudentius, bishop of Troyes,

¹ Cf. L. Halphen, *Études critiques sur l'histoire de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1921), pp. 61-8.

while for the continuation, from 862 to 882, the redoubtable archbishop of Rheims, Hincmar, was responsible.

A portion of the *Royal Annals* was also worked over and amplified. This version has come to be known under the separate title of *Annales Einhardi*. Again there is no sort of warrant for the name, since Einhard was certainly not the author of this revision. But that it should have been attributed to him is not wholly surprising, when it is remembered that in the manuscripts which contain this version of the *Annals* Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* precedes them. These *Annals* make more pretensions to literary form than the original *Royal Annals*; they also add a number of details which are missing in the earlier compilation. For example, in the *Royal Annals* the Saxon war of 782 is very briefly noticed. There is a bare reference to 'rebellious Slavs', and the military operations which followed are summarized in a few words. The author of the adaptation, on the other hand, gives topographical details of raids carried out by the Slavs and stresses the magnitude of their devastations. He also recounts the military operations with considerable fullness.¹ Indeed, the writer's preoccupation with Saxon affairs in various passages has led to the not impossible assumption that he was himself a Saxon. Very striking, too, is the narrative of the end of the Spanish war in 778 in the two chronicles. The earlier account merely states that after the destruction of Pampeluna and the subjugation of the Vascones and of Navarre Charles returned to Frankland. The adapter, however, gives a short but graphic account of the disaster at Roncesvalles:²

Charles levelled the walls of Pampeluna to the ground so that the place might not revolt. Then, deciding to return, he entered a pass of the Pyrenees. At its summit the Vascones had set an ambush, and having assaulted the rear column of the Frankish army threw the whole body into the greatest confusion. And, although it was seen that the Franks were a match for the Vascones both in armature and in courage, they succumbed because of the mountainous locality and the unequal nature of the contest. The infliction of this disaster overshadowed a great part of the success of the Spanish campaign in the king's heart.

The *Royal Annals* provide the reader with a brief, unadorned narrative; but, being restricted in scope, they leave him

¹ The two versions can be studied side by side in MGH. SS., I, pp. 162-5.

² *ibid.*, pp. 158-9.

in the dark on many topics connected with the political, diplomatic, and military history with which they deal. Nor must one expect analysis of motives or a deeper understanding of cause and effect in a plain annalistic record of events. Nevertheless, the *Royal Annals* must be regarded as the most important single source for the reign of Charlemagne, and must form the basis of any historical reconstruction of that momentous era in European history.

Of the longer annals recounting the history of the ninth century, from the point where the *Royal Annals* stop, the *Annales Fuldenses* must be named in addition to the *Annales Bertiniani* which have already been characterized as the continuation of the *Royal Annals*. The name which has been attached to the *Annales Fuldenses* once more is inappropriate, since they seem to have been written at Mayence, not at Fulda. The earlier portion indeed, from 714 to 829, may be disregarded, being a mere *cento* from other sources. Moreover the part from 829 to 838, whatever its source, is full of inaccuracies.¹ But from 838 to 887 we are dealing apparently with an independent source, the work of a single writer, whose writing and approach to his subject have a characteristic quality of their own, even though the accuracy of his statements must be checked by reference to other extant works. He had a particular interest for affairs in the eastern half of what had once been Charlemagne's empire; for, as his narrative proceeds, East Frankish politics and wars engage his attention more and more. His style shows him to have been a man of unusual literary gifts. Another hand, probably that of a Bavarian, added a continuation to 901, and there also appears to have existed a version, no longer preserved, which carried the narrative down to 911. The style of this part is inferior, just as the account itself betrays a political bias that is missing in the preceding portion. Moreover the continuation from 887 has ceased to be purely annalistic. By putting speeches into the mouths of the principal actors in the historical drama the writer has fashioned a hybrid thing, annals masquerading as formal history.

The greatest divergence of opinion has existed regarding the many shorter annals of the Carolingian age. But, although the question of their composition and interrelation has called forth many variant explanations, it has till recently been universally accepted that it was to them, or to some of them, that the *Royal Annals* were indebted for much of their material.

¹ Cf. the remarks of Halphen, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-5.

The latest investigator, however, has argued for the priority of the *Royal Annals*, and has set out to show that the various shorter annals, which can be arranged in five or six groups, all derived to a greater or less degree from the *Royal Annals*. Halphen's important researches have thrown an abundance of fresh light on an intricate problem. His main contention that the *Royal Annals*, which besides form for the most part a contemporary record, were used by the compilers of the shorter annals, which were later not earlier in date, may be safely accepted.¹ Amongst the shorter annals those of Murbach and of Lorsch are each reproduced in several versions closely akin. The *Annales Sancti Amandi* afford an excellent example of composite work; for the earliest section is indebted to the *Murbach Annals*, the middle to the *Royal Annals*, while the last part alone, covering the years 791-810, is an independent account, or, if it too is derivative, its source is now lost. Yet another group originated in Bavaria, although in the case of this, as perhaps in some other points of detail, Halphen's conclusions may need some revision, especially in the light of fresh discoveries.²

Apart from the longer and shorter annals and local records kept by monasteries, historical composition had few exponents in the eighth and ninth centuries. Only two writers made a serious attempt to imitate Bede by putting together a chronicle of world history. Freculph, who died in 853 as bishop of Lisieux, was a friend and contemporary of Hrabanus Maurus. From their correspondence we learn that Freculph at the beginning of his episcopal career (c. 825) found a pitiful absence of books and of education in his see. He must have remedied at least the former of these two evils with some success, for in his chronicle he shows acquaintance with a fair variety of sources. Its first part in seven books treats in brief compass the creation of the world and the early history of the Jews, the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, Ptolemaic Egypt, the Maccabees, and the history of Rome to the end of the Republic. Freculph then decided to add a second part in five books. In it he sketched the history of the Roman Empire and its dismemberment to the pontificate of Gregory I and the establishment of the Lombard kingdom in Italy.³ Judged absolutely, Freculph's achievement is modest enough. For the earlier part he relied on portions of Augustine, Alcuin's

¹ Halphen, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-59.

² Cf. *Neues Archiv.*, 45 (1924), pp. 390-4.

³ The chronicle will be found in PL., 106, coll. 917 ff.

commentary on Genesis, Josephus, the chronicle of Eusebius with Jerome's continuation, Florus and Orosius; for the later he used Orosius, Aurelius Victor, Rufinus's version of Eusebius's ecclesiastical history with Rufinus's additions, Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, Cassiodorus's *Tripartite history*, Jordanes's Gothic and Roman histories, and Bede. His chief stand-by, as was natural, was Orosius. Nevertheless the list we have given is varied and betokens width of reading, even if some of the authors were of small merit as historical authorities. In the case of Florus, Aurelius Victor, and Jordanes, moreover, it is not uninteresting to find Freculph familiar with writers who up to that time seem to have been little known in Western Europe. The bishop of Lisieux was evidently *persona grata* at court. He dedicated the second half of his book to the empress Judith, and, years later, he sent to Charles the Bald a copy of Vegetius's treatise on warfare, which, since the manuscript was exceedingly corrupt, he had revised and corrected to the best of his power. It is also to be reckoned a merit in Freculph that he was not content to make his history a mere collection of extracts from his sources, but took the trouble to give it a more readable and literary form by skilfully joining the different excerpts and introducing transitional passages of his own composition. In this respect he is undoubtedly the superior of Regino, who was abbot of Prüm in Lotharingia for seven years (892-899) and then of St. Martin's at Trèves, where he died in 915. Seven years before he published his *Chronica*, dedicating it to the bishop of Salzburg. It is a briefer presentation of world history than Freculph's. It begins only with the birth of Christ, and the seven centuries and a half from that date to the death of Charles Martel are included in the first book. The second records the course of events from 741 to 906. The form of Regino's work was determined by his sources; for while the occurrences of the earlier centuries are grouped according to the reigns of successive emperors, the later part is annalistic. His chronology is extremely confused, and even for a short sketch the presentation of facts before the later part of the eighth century is very incomplete. For he neglects almost everything in the earlier period which does not bear on the history of Christianity and of the Church, while in describing the centuries nearest to his own time his narrative, though fuller, is one-sided because confined almost entirely to the march of events in the western half of the Frankish empire. His sources for the first four centuries were Bede's Chronicle,

the Acts of the Apostles, some martyrologies and the *Gesta pontificum*; for the remainder of Book 1 he utilized a good deal of hagiographical material, as well as a Spanish collection of canons and decretals, the *Gesta regum Francorum*, Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards*, and some early annals. For Book 2 he relies at first almost wholly on the *Annales Laurissenses*. For the account of the ninth century, which is the most valuable part of the *Chronica*, he appears to have consulted annals of Prüm, now lost, and probably some other annalistic material which can no longer be identified, as well as a certain number of official documents. A respectable array of extant manuscripts of Freculph and of Regino, as well as the use of the latter by subsequent writers, testify to the popularity of both in the Middle Ages. The fact that they were composed, like the diversity and multiplicity of annals, large and small, betokens a lively and widespread appreciation of history. In particular, the consciousness that what they might well regard as a new era had begun in the eighth century led men to focus their attention with special interest on events nearest to their own time. Besides, it was a sign of wider comprehension, whatever the shortcomings of their performance, when a Freculph tried to supply his contemporaries with a background to the age in which they lived, and a Regino essayed to bring out the continuity of history by presenting his narrative of the ninth century not in isolation, but merely as the latest, if to him the most absorbing, development in human affairs. As he himself remarks,

when I came nearer to our own time, I treated the story of my narrative with more elaboration. For, as Jerome remarks, it is one thing to relate what one has seen and another to relate what one has heard. What we know best, we can best describe.¹

The achievement of Paul and of Nithard was of a different kind. Paul, son of Warnefrid, commonly called Paul the Deacon, whom we have already met as one of the notable scholars temporarily domiciled at the court of Charlemagne, was born about 730. The scion of a noble Lombard family, he was educated at the Lombard court and for some time after continued to live at Pavia, possibly filling some official position. Towards middle life he took monastic vows and retired first to Civate near Milan and later (c. 779) to Monte Cassino. In 783 we find him in Charles the Great's dominions primarily

¹ MGH. SS., I, p. 566.

to intercede with the king for his brother, who had been taken prisoner seven years before in a rebellion at Friaul against Frankish authority. Although his request was probably granted and his own reception by Charles was most cordial, he did not stay in the north for more than a year or two. Then he returned to Monte Cassino where, in the evening of his life, he composed a history of his people which was unfinished at his death.

At all periods of his life Paul was devoted to scholarship and literature. The grounding that he had received from his teacher, Flavianus, must have been exceptionally good, and this, combined with his own further efforts to advance his knowledge, produced one of the best educated men of the day. His own writings touched many fields, poetry, *grammatica*, theology, and history. It was assuredly no light task to fashion an abridgement of Pompeius Festus's dictionary, *De verborum significatu*, with its abundance of old Latin words and its miscellaneous gleanings about religion, antiquities, and law.¹ His first historical work was an edition of Eutropius's *Breviarium* of Roman history, which he amplified by passages from Jerome, Orosius, and some other writers. He then added a continuation based on seven or eight different sources. Fortunately it is not necessary to judge his powers by this rather carelessly executed *Historia Romana*. For his *Historia Langobardorum* enables us to form a very different estimate of his historical talent. In its incomplete state it comprises six books, tracing the fortunes of the Lombards from their quasi-legendary beginnings to the death of king Liutprand in 744. For the groundwork Paul utilized two earlier sketches of Lombard history, which are now lost. He further relied for different sections of his book on a variety of earlier authors, from Pliny to Isidore and Bede. He had access, as he himself explains (2, 20), to an old list of the Italian provinces which he consulted when composing his chapters on the geography of the peninsula.² Details were added from his own experience or observation.³ He did not despise oral tradition and folk legends, but allowed them a place here and there in his narrative.⁴ From such receptivity it was but a step to sheer credulity. But, in view of the practice of most mediaeval

¹ See also above, p. 20.

² *Hist. Langob.* (ed. G. Waitz; Hannover, 1878), 2, 15-23.

³ E.g. *op. cit.*, I, 5.

⁴ E.g. *op. cit.*, I, 2; I, 6; I, 15; and the story of Rodulfus and Rumetruda in I, 20.

and some ancient historians, criticism of Paul for recording omens is disarmed. He is weakest in chronology, so that the arrangement of his narrative is sometimes exceedingly confused. He is often content to introduce a new occurrence with some vague phrase, like *circa haec tempora* or *hac tempestate*, even if the preceding part of the narrative took place some years before or after.¹ Apart from chronological vagaries, his story progresses in simple and unadorned language. Yet with all this economy of means Paul could pen a vivid description and could enliven the sometimes tedious succession of wars and intrigues by some passage of marked dramatic power. As a specimen of Paul's art we may quote the story of the boy Grimoald.²

Now the Avars and their king having entered Fréjus pillaged everything that they could find. They burnt the city itself and led off as captives all persons whom they had discovered; yet, intending treachery, they held out to their prisoners the promise that they would settle them on the frontiers of Pannonia, the country from which they had set out. When on their way home they reached the region called *campus sacer*, they decided to put to the sword all the adult Lombards, while they divided the women and children by lot as slaves. But Taso, Cacco, and Raduald, the sons of Gisulfus and Romilda, divined their evil intent; so they straightway mounted their horses and took to flight. One of them wished to kill his brother Grimoald, a mere lad, thinking that he was too small to keep his seat on a galloping steed, and deeming it better to put him to the sword than to let him endure the yoke of captivity. Now when he raised his lance to pierce him the boy wept and cried out, saying: 'Do not run me through, for I can ride'. Thereupon grasping the boy by the arm, he lifted him on a horse without a saddle and encouraged him to keep his seat if he could. The boy, snatching the horse's reins, followed his fleeing brothers. On discovering what had happened the Avars quickly mounted and chased them. While the other fugitives escaped in swift flight, boy Grimoald was taken by one of the Avars who had ridden faster than he. However, his captor was loath to put him to the sword on account of his tender years;

¹ Thus, for instance, the chronology of 4, 1-24 moves hither and thither in the most distracting way. Again, in 4, 41, Columban's foundations at Luxeuil and Bobbio are introduced after the expulsion of Adaloald and the accession of Arioald as king in 626!

² *Op. cit.*, 4, 37. Other graphically told episodes, which exhibit Paul at his best, are the war between Cunincpert and Duke Alahis (5, 38-41), or the description of Aripert II, who, like Harun al Rashid, used to go about in disguise amongst his subjects at night (6, 35).

so he kept him, intending that he should become his slave. Seizing the bridle of the boy's horse and turning him about in the direction of the camp he led him back and boasted of the noble spoil that was his. For the lad was well built and had brightly shining eyes and masses of fair hair. He, on his part, as he was lamenting that he was being led off a prisoner, was 'turning over in his inmost heart a valiant resolve'. He drew from its sheath his sword, which was of a kind suited to his age, and, using all his strength, struck the Avar who was carrying him off on the crown of the head. Straightway the blow penetrated to the brain and the enemy fell from his horse. But boy Grimoald, turning his steed about, fled away with gladness in his heart and in due course rejoined his brothers. And he filled them with immeasurable joy at his escape and at the tale he told besides of his enemy's death.

Paul's *History of the Lombards* was an immense success. The number of extant manuscripts exceeds one hundred, and it was frequently used and imitated by mediaeval writers from the ninth to the fifteenth century. It was composed just in time when the fall of the Lombard kingdom was still a very recent memory. But for Paul the earlier *compendia* of Lombard history, the so-called *Origo gentis Langobardorum* and the chronicle of Secundus, both of which he used, and a great deal of traditional material which he incorporated in his book, would have been completely lost, and our knowledge of the latest of the Germanic invaders of Italy would be not a tithe of what it is. All of Paul's historical works dealt with past history. We may deeply regret that he did not live to bring his narrative down to 774; for we cannot doubt that he would have given us an illuminating picture of the political events that occurred during his own youth.

The ninth-century historian Nithard deserves to rank as the most successful chronicler of contemporary history during the Carolingian age. He was of noble extraction, being the son of an irregular union between Angilbert, the lay-abbot of St. Riquier, and Bertha, one of the daughters of Charlemagne. He evidently received what in those days was an exceptionally good education for a layman. Subsequently, as a staunch supporter of Charles the Bald in the political dissensions between the sons of Louis the Pious, he played an important part in the events which form the main theme of his history. He undertook to write it at the behest of Charles; but he tells his readers how he would have preferred to leave his task unfinished, first, because of the invidious nature of the

subject, and secondly, because of his desire to have done with worldly affairs.¹ The first of the four books, which is introductory, sketches the troubled political history of Louis' reign; the other three give a more detailed account of the period from 839 to March, 843. Nithard appears frankly as a partisan of Charles the Bald, whilst Lothar II in his conduct to Charles and to their brother, Louis the German, is the villain of the piece. At the same time the historian was an eyewitness of much that he relates; where he depended on the testimony of others he shows great discrimination. And, though he was the devoted henchman of Louis' youngest son, he does not write as a courtier but as an independent though sympathetic supporter. It is a great pity that the last book, which ends so abruptly as to make it probable that it was left incomplete, does not include a description of the Partition of Verden. It may be observed that Nithard's interpretation of the events that he narrates, and especially his very unfavourable portrait of Lothar,² have stood the test of modern historical criticism and are accepted as substantially accurate. His narrative is severely plain, his style lacking in elegance, and he dispenses with all superfluities. Yet he has an eye for a picturesque detail, where it is strictly relevant. This we see, for example, in the graphic account of Lothar's messengers arriving before Charles, when that prince was on the point of leaving his bath.³ Again, he knows how to emphasize the importance and solemnity of a diplomatic agreement by actual quotation of the oaths taken by the contracting parties. Indeed, the description of the pact entered into by Charles and Louis II at Strassburg in 842 is of unique interest, because the historian has reproduced the oaths taken by the two rulers and by their supporters in the two vernaculars. The version in the *lingua Romana* is the oldest extant specimen of a Romance language and this particular tongue was the immediate precursor of Old French.⁴

¹ *Histor.* (ed. Ernst Müller, Hannover, 1907), prefaces to Books 3 and 4. Text with French translation by Ph. Lauer, Paris, 1926.

² Cf. 2, 7—*Lodharius, uti praefatum est, dolo an vi Lodhuvicum aut subdere aut, quod mavult, perdere posset, tota mente tractabat*; —also 4, 1, with a regular catalogue of Lothar's misdeeds.

³ 2, 8.

⁴ 3, 5. The ill-starred attempt of J. W. Thompson (*Speculum*, 1 [1926], pp. 410–38) to prove that the text of the oaths in *lingua Romana* is not older than the tenth century is to be rejected. The erroneous character of Thompson's arguments has been fully demon-

So far no mention has been made of a special type of historical literature, biography, which was cultivated with varying success in the Carolingian era. As a work of literature Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* occupies a class by itself. We have seen how the author, who was born in the Maingau about 770 and received his early education at Fulda, was sent to the imperial court where he was for a time a pupil of Alcuin. He became one of the members of the learned society surrounding the monarch whose favour and confidence he won. For he went as Charles's emissary to the Pope in 809 and was perhaps entrusted with other missions. It has been assumed that he was charged with the general superintendence over all buildings erected in the capital by the royal command, and also that he was the first to recommend Charlemagne to make his son Louis co-emperor in 813. But it must be admitted that in either case the evidence is very slender. Einhard's influence at the court became very strong under Louis the Pious, and marks of royal favour were showered upon him. He became the lay abbot of several abbeys, and it was to one of these, Seligenstadt, that he finally retired in 830, having up to that year spent some time annually at the court. He died in 840 and Hrabanus Maurus composed his epitaph.

He was a finished product of the schools of Fulda and of Alcuin. He had thoroughly mastered a learned language, his native tongue being Frankish (Old High German) and not the *lingua Romana* of the western half of the Empire which was the direct descendant of vernacular Latin. No early mediaeval writer more successfully imitated classical models than he; yet, as in the case of his only peer, Lupus, the basic influence of the Bible and ecclesiastical Latin was never obliterated. The writer to whom Einhard was especially indebted in the *Life* was, as was very natural, the biographer of the Caesars, Suetonius. His imitation was thorough. It consists in the first place in the use of Suetonius's vocabulary and characteristic idioms. This is most marked in the later chapters of the biography where Einhard is portraying the character and private life of his hero; and, though with a conscious desire of juxtaposing the founders of the old and the new Roman Empire he draws most freely on the *Life of Augustus*, he borrows also from the other biographies,

strated on the linguistic side by Lowe and Edwards (*ibid.*, 2 [1927], pp. 310-17), and on the historical by F. L. Ganshof (*Studi medievali, nuova serie*, 2 [1929], pp. 9-25).

notably those of Tiberius, Vespasian, and Titus. But he does more than this, for he follows Suetonius also in grouping his material, and in the order in which he describes the various episodes of Charles's reign and the different aspects of the monarch's many-sided activity.¹ Einhard's historical reading was, however, far from being confined to a single author. In writing his prologue he clearly had in mind Sulpicius Severus's introduction to his *Life of St. Martin of Tours*; in the biography itself there are reminiscences of Caesar, Livy, Tacitus, Florus, Justin's abridgement of Trogus, and Orosius. Clearly Einhard made the most of his opportunities at Fulda, where the library was, as we have seen, singularly rich in historical authors.

That the *Life* is a notable piece of literature, so that it stands in the forefront of mediaeval biographies, cannot be disputed. But there is not the same unanimity amongst modern critics regarding its value as a historical document. The notion that too close adherence to his model led Einhard perhaps unconsciously to distort Charlemagne's character and habits by forcing him into the likeness of Augustus is indeed somewhat illusory. For we must remember that he was steeped in Suetonius as a whole, not merely in the *Life of Augustus*. In other words, there was sufficient variety in vocabulary and in description in the biographies of twelve Caesars to enable Einhard, who must have known them wellnigh by heart, to find all that he needed without falsifying, for the sake of a neat phrase, the portrait of the emperor. On the other hand, it is undoubtedly true that partiality for Charlemagne, and insufficient knowledge of his earlier years and some of his more distant campaigns, have led Einhard to omit or gloss over certain episodes and to confuse others. To expect complete impartiality is to demand the impossible. Einhard's long acquaintance with the emperor, and his many years' residence at the court, had peculiarly fitted him in some respects to act as a biographer; but there was also one inevitable disadvantage, especially as he continued to be *persona grata* at the court for many years after 814. The

¹ The best editions are by Holder-Egger (*Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum*, 1911) and by Halphen (*Classiques de l'histoire de France*, I [1923]). The latter is accompanied by a French translation. The English edition by Garrod and Mowat (Oxford, 1915), which amongst other shortcomings fails adequately to bring out the literary relationship of Einhard to Suetonius, has justly been criticized on various counts. Cf. *Moyen Âge*, 28 (1915), pp. 149 ff., and *Revue historique*, 121 (1916), pp. 316 ff.

trusted friend of Charles and Louis may surely be forgiven if he exhibits an occasional bias. Yet, for example, he makes it clear that his hero could be ruthless to his enemies.¹ Moreover, a number of episodes in the monarch's career, of which Einhard's account is incomplete to such a degree that some have thought him guilty of deliberate suppression of the truth, belong to the earlier period of Charles's life. It is fair to assume that Einhard's narrative is unsatisfactory there because he had inadequate *data*. Matters like Charles's quarrel with his brother, Carloman, or his relations with and subsequent suppression of the last Lombard king, whose sister he had repudiated after marriage, were topics of which the king himself was perhaps the only person who could have given a complete account. Yet even a close friend was wise to refrain from catechizing Charles on such intimate questions! There are other passages where Einhard's defective narrative cannot reasonably be excused; others, too, which have been needlessly called in question. In short, Einhard's *Life* should be no more exempt from criticism than any other source, and its statements must be tested in the light of all the available evidence. Admittedly in the past an excessive importance has sometimes been attached to Einhard and his work. To this attitude the verdict of Einhard's latest critic marks an extreme reaction. In consequence Halphen's picture also is not free from distortion, because he has gone unwarrantably far in belittling the biographer both as a man and as a writer.²

It is a far cry from Einhard to other biographers of the eighth and ninth centuries. The life of Louis the Pious engaged the attention of two contemporaries. The one, Theganus, a rural bishop in the diocese of Trèves, wrote his biography two years before Louis' death; the other *Life* is by an unknown author and was composed some years after

¹ Cf. chapter 8 (Saxon war) or 13 (campaign against the Avars), where we find this outspoken passage: 'Quot proelia in eo gesta, quantum sanguinis effusum sit, testatur vacua omni habitatore Pannonia et locus in quo regia Kagani erat ita desertus ut ne vestigium quidem in eo humane habitationis appareat. Tota in hoc bello Hunorum nobilitas periit, tota gloria decidit.'

² Halphen's excessive severity towards Einhard has been criticized even by a fellow-countryman. Cf. E. Levillain in *Moyen Âge*, 23 (1922), pp. 179 ff., who also shows that Halphen's date for the composition of the *Vita Caroli* is too late. Valuable as Halphen's essay on Einhard (*op. cit.*, pp. 60-103) assuredly is, it is marred by a number of criticisms which can only be described as captious (cf., for instance, pp. 96-7).

839.¹ The former's work is from every point of view an exceedingly poor production. His writing is bald and disfigured by numerous solecisms and grammatical errors. His material, which was fairly ample, was never properly digested by him; the individual facts are strung loosely together without any attempt on the author's part to weld them into an organic whole. Over and above these grave faults, the tone of uncritical adulation of the monarch and of undignified railing against his opponents are highly distasteful. It is a sad reflection that Theganus, with such an example as Einhard's *Life* before him—and he borrowed some phrases from it and adapted them to his own hero—could not do better.²

The anonymous biography is an altogether worthier composition. It is better written and arranged, though it is not a work of any originality. Its chief value lies in the fact that the earlier part of the narrative was drawn from an unusually qualified witness, the monk Adhemar, who was brought up in the same convent as Louis. It is not certain whether the author obtained his information orally from Adhemar or whether the latter, as is not unlikely, had composed a historical narrative now lost. For the rest the 'astronomer' relied on annals and on Einhard's *Life of Charles*.³

(c) HAGIOGRAPHY

The example set by the Venerable Bede in writing the lives of the abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow found many imitators. Paul the Deacon, at the request of bishop Angilram, compiled a history of the bishops of Metz.⁴ The lives of the archbishops of Ravenna were described by Agnellus (c. 805–854). This work is chiefly noteworthy because its author followed a scheme without parallel in his age. For he assembled a large variety of official documents, inscriptions, letters, and epitaphs, and incorporated them in his book. The consequence is that, although it can lay no claim to literary excellence, it is a historical source of unusual value.⁵

¹ This writer has been dubbed Astronomus, the astronomer, for the rather flimsy reason that he reproduces a conversation on astronomy between the emperor and himself in 838 when a comet was visible in the sky. The information is not without value, since it shows that the author was in close touch with the court.

² Text of Theganus's *Life* in PL., 106, coll. 405–28, and MGH. SS., II, 590 ff.

³ Text in MGH. SS., II, 604 ff.

⁴ Text, *ibid.*, 260 ff.

⁵ Text in MGH. Script. Langob., 275 ff.

Others were content to make the life of a single prelate the theme of their biographical writing. We can rank amongst the best works of its kind the *Life of Boniface*. Written by Willibald, an English priest, it is, apart from the intrinsic interest of its subject, a competent and reliable work, in spite of certain striking omissions in the narrative. Another exceptional portrayal of an exceptional man is the *Life of Anskar*, once a monk at Corbie and in the daughter house in Westphalian Corvey, and later bishop of Hamburg-Bremen, by his successor in that diocese, Rimbart. In addition to being a sober, clearly written narrative, the biography deserves special attention because it throws precious light on conditions in the Scandinavian countries, with which, owing to the geographical position of his see, Anskar was frequently brought into contact.¹ Other examples of straightforward narratives, in which the miraculous and legendary find no place, are the *Life of Sturm*, first abbot of Fulda, by Eigil who became abbot of the same monastery in 817, and the accounts of Baugulf, the second abbot, and of Eigil by the monk, Bruun.² Save for the fact that the subjects of these biographies were religious leaders one would hardly classify them as hagiographies. The remarkable development in hagiographical literature characteristic of the ninth century was in part at least the outcome of a steadily increasing popularity of relics and the worship of saints. The attitude of Charlemagne, expressed both in the *Libri Carolini* and elsewhere,³ was patently determined by a wish to restrict a form of worship which, being in harmony with the widespread credulity of laity and clergy, might easily lead men to forget the fundamental truths of Christianity and become debased into superstition. At the same time it was natural that in

¹ Text in MGH. SS., II, 687 ff.

² Life of Sturm, *ibid.*, 365 ff.; Life of Eigil, MGH. SS., XV, 221 ff. The Life of Baugulf is lost.

³ Cf. the following passages from capitularies of 794 and 813: ut nulli novi sancti colantur aut invocentur nec memoria eorum per vias erigantur; sed hii soli in ecclesia venerandi sint qui ex auctoritate passionum aut vite merito electi sint (MGH. Capit., I, p. 77, para. 42).

Quid de his dicendum, qui, quasi ad amorem Dei et sanctorum sive martyrum sive confessorum ossa et reliquias sanctorum corporum de loco ad locum transferunt ibique novas basilicas construunt et, quoscumque potuerint ut res suas illuc tradant, instantissime adhortantur. Ille siquidem vult, ut videatur quasi bene facere seque propter hoc factum bene meritum apud Deum fieri, quibus potest persuadere episcopis: palam sit hoc ideo factum, ut ad aliam perveniat potestatem (*ibid.*, p. 163, para. 7).

an age distinguished by improved education and a great literary revival a form of literature which had always been esteemed should receive renewed attention. It is no accident that so many leading writers, starting with Alcuin himself, at some period of their career tried their hand at religious biography. The restrictions of the king-emperor, supported as they would be by the leading Churchmen, did not remain without effect temporarily. But Charlemagne's successor had neither the will nor the power to keep them in effect. The protests of lesser men, for example, the fulminations of Claudius of Turin, found no sympathetic echo elsewhere. On the contrary, from the time of Louis the Pious we observe a rapidly increasing desire to acquire the relics of saints. Distance and the hazards attendant upon the transport of such precious remains were no obstacle. The relics, or what were reputed to be such since fraud was by no means unknown, of saints and martyrs were brought from Italy to all parts of the Frankish empire, from France to Westphalia, even from Jerusalem to the West.¹ The installation of the holy bones in their new resting-place was everywhere attended by all the pomp and solemnity which monks and clergy could devise, and by the fervent participation of the laity of all classes. Nor did such sacred proceedings remain unchronicled. For the surviving accounts of such Translations are numerous, forming a far from negligible branch of hagiographic literature. No less a man than Einhard, who had been responsible for the translation of Saints Marcellinus and Petrus from Rome to Seligenstadt, wrote a detailed account of the whole episode and of the miracles performed by the saints as soon as they had been inducted into their new sanctuary.² Another example of considerable literary merit is the *Translatio S. Alexandri*—the remains were brought from Rome to Wildeshausen—begun by Rudolf of Fulda soon after 851 and completed by his pupil, Meginhard.³ Apart from their immediate value for understanding cult practices and popular beliefs in the Carolingian age, such records throw an incidental light on other matters of interest. They may illustrate methods of travel and its attendant dangers, or bear witness to the literary training of the chronicler, as in the case of Rudolf, who introduced considerable extracts from Tacitus's *Germania* without acknowledgement into the beginning of his narrative.

The lives of saints, martyrs, and eminent Churchmen

¹ Cf. the long list drawn up by Hauck, II, pp. 772-6.

² MGH. SS., XV, 239 ff.

³ MGH. SS., II, 673 ff.

cannot all be classified under a single head. We have seen that a small but important group of lives, being written by contemporaries, generally friends or disciples, and intended as an accurate record of events, belong to ordinary biographical literature. But in a majority of cases it is not a more or less authentic historical presentation which makes up the greater, or even a considerable, portion of the *Vita*. Expressed in another way, we may remark that the essence of hagiography, as distinct from biography, consists in the presence of supernatural features recorded of the subject during his lifetime. The primary purpose of this type of literature is edification, although other motives also may have influenced the writer. It is, for example, by no means rare to find passages that were clearly introduced to justify the claims of a monastic house to independence of episcopal control, or to certain lands or other material possessions. It is noticeable that so short and unpretentious a sketch as Eigil's *Life of Sturm* contains no less than three paragraphs emphasizing the rights and immunities of Fulda.¹ The *Life of Gallus* by Walahfrid Strabo again contains episodes designed to show how attempts by the bishop of Constance to make his jurisdiction over the abbey effective were miraculously frustrated by the saint.² In extreme instances a whole *Vita* or record might be forged to serve material ends; and the inventor would try to uphold the fiction that his narrative was authentic by stressing that the absence or destruction of documents in wars and raids had compelled him to rely on such oral tradition as he could assemble. There are not a few *Lives* composed in the ninth century which, purporting to have been written in the sixth or seventh, must be counted as wilful fabrications. Such works must, however, be carefully distinguished from genuine attempts to deal with events considerably earlier than the author's own time or to make the best of insufficient material. Hucbald's good faith should not be called in question when he relates how he hesitated to compose a life of St. Rictrudis, first abbess of Marchiennes, owing to the absence of written material, until the nuns showed him some records that were in general accord with what they themselves remembered. This does not of course exclude the possibility that he was himself the victim of pious deception.³ Lupus, in his *Life*

¹ MGH. SS., II, ch. 12; p. 375, 5-12; 375, 45-376, 2.

² MGH. Script. Merov., IV, Book 2, chs. 15-17. Historically St. Gall did not become an independent abbey till 818.

³ PL., 132, col. 829.

of *St. Wigbert*, justifies himself for treating the events of the past by citing, characteristically enough, the examples of Sallust, Livy, Jerome in his *Life of Paulus*, and Ambrose in his *Passion of St. Agnes*.¹

There was a feeling in the ninth century that many of the older Lives and Passions were stylistically crude. It became a common practice to prevail upon some man with literary gifts to work these over so as to produce a more readable and elegant piece of literature. Thus Lupus's *Life of St. Maximin* was based on an older *Vita*. Walahfrid had two earlier accounts of Gallus to form the kernel of his own. The Saint's life became a recognized *genre* of literary composition. Its general structure and the sequence of events became typified. Certain features, too, were indispensable characteristics of the saint—the serious outlook on life even in early youth, showing itself in disinclination to join in the amusements of other children, youthful precocity, the gift of prophecy or at least a certain superhuman foreknowledge of events, and self-depreciatory modesty and hesitation to accept material advancement or worldly responsibilities. Even the scene at the death-bed, and the last utterances of exhortation and consolation, tended to be written down according to a formal scheme. We would not wish to imply that these Lives were devoid of all individual traits. The more authentic the record was, as when it was written down by a disciple of the saint or at least by one who could converse with older men who had known the deceased, the more likely are we to find not a few individual characteristics set down side by side with what was typical. Contrariwise, the more purely legendary the account, the more completely would it conform to type and nothing more.

It is noticeable that in the hagiography of the ninth century asceticism and martyrdom are stressed but little, whereas they form a feature of ever-growing importance in the Lives composed during the tenth and in the early eleventh centuries.² It is reasonable to see in this change of attitude a reflection of the altered political and social conditions, which were never more unstable and distressful than in the tenth century. It is significant, too, that this class of literature was widely

¹ MGH. SS., XV, p. 38.

² This has been well brought out by L. Zopf in his admirable monograph, *Das Heiligenleben im 10. Jahrhundert (Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, 1* [Leipzig, 1908], pp. 116-31).

and successfully cultivated in that age when historical and indeed most other forms of writing languished.

The lives of saints, martyrs, and eminent figures in the Church owed their popularity to many causes. Their historical truth counted but little with the average reader who found in them a good story. If the adventures of the saintly hero conformed to pattern, that was assuredly not regarded as a fault. Even so in our own time a certain class of popular novel is cast to a mould. The main features reappear in each successive work of the fortunate author whose sales run into many thousands. He would lose his public, were he, in a sudden craving to be original, to deviate from the accepted plot, or fail to endow at least his leading figures with the virtue, manliness, modesty, chastity, or deep-dyed villainy characteristic of each. There is in most men a love of the marvellous. In the early Middle Ages this was the more intense because fortified by the sanctions of religion. When belief in miracles and in almost daily manifestations of Divine approval or displeasure was all but universal, becoming stronger and stronger as the veneration of saints, relics, and images now fostered and encouraged by the ecclesiastical authorities grew apace, what more attractive literature could there be than some hagiography in which the supernatural played a determining part in the hero's life and made even more manifest his powers after death? In these lives, too, men might read of the customs, manners, and scenery of foreign lands, or of hairbreadth escapes, like those of Findan from his Norman captors what time he had set out to ransom his sister.¹ Nor, we may add, are episodes of a humorous nature wholly lacking. And, as the worship of the saints grew, even local patriotism might find satisfaction in reading circumstantially of the miracle-working powers of the local saint which surpassed, or perhaps even discomfited, the efforts of one in a neighbouring district. Much of the hagiographical literature, like some mirror, reflects not merely the beliefs, but the hopes and fears, the daily labours, pleasures, and sorrows of the people. Yet many inquirers into the life and spirit of the Middle Ages, deterred by a certain uniformity in these records, and still more swayed by the rationalism of a supposedly more enlightened age, have totally neglected this unique body of evidence. They have done so at their peril, for, in setting aside what they deemed unworthy of serious notice,

¹ See the anonymous *Life of Findan* in MGH. SS., XV, 512 ff. It was written in the ninth century by an Irishman at Reichenau.

the self-declared enemies of 'superstition' have closed for themselves one of the main avenues to enlightenment.

(d) GEOGRAPHY

Geography need not detain us long; for so slight was the interest in this subject that only two brief treatises have come down to us from the Carolingian epoch. Moreover, only one of them contains anything that is new. Taken as a whole, both the *De mensura orbis terrae* completed in 825 by the Irish monk, Dicuil, whom we have already met as the compiler of an astronomical book, and the tract, *De situ orbis*, written by an anonymous author soon after 850, are mere *collectanea* from earlier scholars. Dicuil's book is, however, decidedly superior to the other for two reasons. He shows some interest in textual problems as he uses his authorities, and he adds a very few geographical *data* applicable only to his own day. Otherwise both books are mere school *compendia* of ancient geography; in other words, their descriptions are bounded by the territorial limits of the later Roman Empire. The Anonymus was not familiar with Dicuil's treatise and worked with somewhat different sources.¹ The Irishman relied primarily on Solinus, the first five books of Pliny's *Natural History*, Julius Honorius, and the fifth-century *Mensuratio orbis terrae* undertaken by order of Theodosius II. He makes more occasional use of four or five other writers. The *De situ orbis*, on the other hand, relies mostly on Pomponius Mela, at that time a little known writer, Solinus, and the sixth book of Martianus. Besides these there are passages from Isidore, Orosius, and Aethicus Ister. The monotony of Dicuil's *rechauffé* from imperial Roman writers is relieved in two or three places by observations based on oral information. He was the victim of a traveller's tale when he accepted the story, told to his teacher Suibneus by another monk in Dicuil's presence, of a journey from Palestine to Egypt. For the relator asserted that he and his fellow-pilgrims had sailed from the Nile into the Red Sea. He had previously viewed the pyramids which he called 'the seven granaries built by Joseph according to the number of years of abundance'. Later on he desired to inspect the marks of Pharaoh's chariots

¹ Dicuil's treatise was last edited by G. Parthey (Berlin, 1870): the *De situ orbis* has found an editor in M. Manitius (Stuttgart, 1884), who also gives a full analysis of the book, with a valuable excursus on the use of Mela in the Middle Ages in his *Geschichte d. lat. Lit.*, I, pp. 675-8.

in the Red Sea, but the sailors were disobliging enough not to stop for the purpose.¹ Three other passages in Dicuil refer to the far North. In his youth he had perhaps stayed for a time at Iona; at all events he knew of the Hebrides, Shetlands and Orkneys, and of islands off the Irish coast. He had lived in some and visited or seen others.² Furthermore, a priest had told him of certain islands which could be reached in two days and two nights with favourable winds by sailing due north from Britain. They had once been inhabited by hermits, but owing to Norman raids were deserted in Dicuil's time save for numberless sheep and sea fowl.³ He added that he had found no allusion to these islands (which must be identical with the Faroes) in any author. Most interesting of all, however, is his report on Iceland:

It is now thirty years since some clergy, who stayed in that island (Thile) from February 1st to August 1st, related to me that not only at the summer solstice but a little before and after, when the sun sets in the evening, it disappears, as it were, behind a tiny hillock. The result is that it does not grow dark anywhere, but a man can do whatever he wishes, even to picking lice off his shirt, as though the sun were still shining. Indeed if they had been on the top of the mountain in the island, the sun would perhaps never have disappeared from their view.

He then combats the statement of those who asserted that the sea round Iceland was frozen and that six months of continuous night alternated with six months of continuous daylight. But he adds that one day's sail brought his informants to a frozen sea.⁴ If only Dicuil had been able to emancipate himself from geographical lore which had little but antiquarian interest in his time, and had collected reports from other travellers and missionaries, who had explored Central Europe and beyond, what a uniquely valuable brochure he could have left to posterity! As it is, neither of the geographical treatises, apart from Dicuil's references to Northern Europe, have any scientific worth. Their sole significance lies in the manner in which they reflect the book-learning acquired by their two compilers.

¹ 6, 12-18.² 7, 6.³ 7, 14-15.⁴ 7, 11.

CHAPTER XII

THE LITERATURE OF THE CAROLINGIAN AGE : THEOLOGY

(a) CONTROVERSIAL AND DOGMATIC WRITINGS

THERE is one feature which the Carolingian era had in common with the fourth century: both were periods during which acute dogmatic disputes gave rise to vigorous controversial literature. It is to be observed also that one of the doctrinal questions—indeed, it was the most hotly discussed of all—was one which had remained quiescent ever since the Gallican opposition in the fifth century to the full consequence of Augustinian teaching. We refer, of course, to Predestination. But already in the second half of the eighth century two other causes for theological contention had arisen. Spain, distinguished by the rigid orthodoxy of its Church since the Fourth Council of Toledo, was the last country from which a heresiarch might have been expected to spring. It is significant, nevertheless, that throughout the seventh century Christological questions had occupied a foremost place in the deliberations of successive Councils, a sufficient proof that guidance for the clergy on the one hand, and on the other the refutation of possible schismatics, were felt to be urgently necessary. Furthermore, the Spanish (Mozarabic) liturgy contained some phraseology which might easily lead to unorthodox beliefs regarding the relation of the Second to the First Person of the Trinity, in other words, to adoptionism. In the Acts of the Sixth Council of Toledo (638) we find a long definition of orthodox Trinitarian belief.¹ The Eleventh Council expressly warned against adoptionist error.² The Fifteenth appealed to the authority of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon in formulating its *professio fidei*, while the Sixteenth (693) defined the doctrine of the Trinity most elaborately and included an exposition

¹ Mansi, X, 661-662.

² *ibid.*, XI, 133—Hic etiam Filius Dei natura est Filius, non adoptione, quem Deus Pater nec voluntate, nec necessitate genuisse credendus est.

of the will, a clear echo of the controversy raised by the Monothelites.

The teaching of Elipandus, archbishop of Toledo, and of Felix, bishop of Urgel, once more gave rise to acute contention in the West concerning the nature of Christ. Elipandus, whose position as primate of Spain gave him a degree of power incommensurate with his abilities, had already taken a very independent line against Pope Hadrian, before he openly embraced the heresy with which his name is associated. On Spanish soil his opinions met with active opposition from Beatus of Libana and Etherius, subsequently bishop of Osma. With the entry of Felix into this dogmatic dispute the controversy assumed a wider significance. For, on the one hand, his see was on territory which now formed part of the Frankish Empire, so that propagation of his views became a matter of immediate concern to Charlemagne. Also he had hitherto been known as a man of exemplary piety and unwonted learning, a fact which, if it raised the tone of the dispute, also made the heretical writings more dangerous. Felix was cited before the Synod of Ratisbon in 792, where his teaching was condemned. He made his submission and later repeated his recantation at Rome before the Pope himself. The subject of adoptionism, however, was one of the topics laid before a very large assembly of clerics at the Synod of Frankfort in 794. Charles himself presided and took part in the deliberations, which were unanimously against the Trinitarian teaching of Felix and Elipandus. After a few years Felix reverted to his error. The treatises in which he strove to justify himself are almost wholly lost, but his arguments can to some extent be reconstructed from the works of his adversaries. For now condemnation and refutation came upon him from several sides. Pope Leo III, after receiving Felix's disquisition, condemned it as heretical. Paulinus of Aquileia *c.* 800 penned a treatise against the heresiarch, which met with the warm approbation of Felix's most notable literary opponent, Alcuin.¹ Probably in 797 Alcuin had composed a short *libellus adversus Felicis haeresin*, following this up in the next year with a long and detailed refutation, *libri septem adversus Felicem*.² In 800 Felix once more was obliged to appear before a synod, this time at Aachen. He was condemned and ended his days in the honourable custody of his friend Leidrad, archbishop of

¹ MGH. Epist., IV, No. 208, addressed to Arn of Salzburg.

² For these works see PL., 101.

Lyons. Alcuin also wrote a refutation of Elipandus in four books. The energetic action of Charlemagne and Alcuin had rooted out the heresy in the Frankish empire. In Spain Elipandus's position gradually weakened owing to the growing opposition of the Spanish prelates. The essence of the teaching of the adoptionists was that Christ was according to His human nature the Son of God *gratia* or *adoptione*, not *natura* or *genere*. This doctrine Alcuin, who saw in it a close parallel to the Nestorian heresy,¹ set himself to rebut. The tone of his treatises is one of studied moderation mixed with genuine sorrow, since the erudition and exemplary life of the bishop of Urgel had long been known to him and had filled him with admiration.² His presentation of orthodox teaching and his refutation of the adoptionist errors rest entirely on the authority of the Fathers. We are impressed by the extent of his theological studies, more especially as they included not merely Latin writers from Hilary to Leo I and Gregory the Great, but Latin translations of Greek theologians, Athanasius, Cyril, Gregory of Nazianzus, and some others. It seems likely, in view of marked correspondences, that he derived these mainly from a Latin version of the eastern councils, especially from the acts of the Council of Ephesus. In the early years of the ninth century Agobard of Lyons and Benedict of Aniane also entered the lists against the adherents of the heresy by assembling and publishing series of passages from the Scriptures and the Patristic authors in support of orthodoxy. For Southern France was always open to influence from Spain, where, in spite of the rapid decline of Elipandus's authority, adoptionism continued to linger on fitfully for some time.

A second dogmatic controversy around another aspect of the Trinitarian question was of singular importance because it was, and continued to be, a matter of contention between the Eastern and Western Churches. Moreover, the teaching of Frankish theologians that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son became the accepted belief of orthodox Christians in the West. The dispute arose both before and during Charlemagne's time, but on those occasions this difference with Byzantium was quite overshadowed by the disagreements arising out of the iconoclastic controversy. This last matter Charlemagne may have hoped to have settled once and for all. Nevertheless, in a more restricted form it was resurrected in the early years of Louis the Pious. The

¹ *ibid.*, 88A.

² MGH. Epist., IV, Nos. 5 and 166.

discussion respecting the Procession of the Holy Spirit remained quiescent for nearly a century, until the action of an Eastern emperor led the Pope to invoke the literary aid of Frankish scholars.

Before Charlemagne's time the attitude of the popes had in general been sympathetic to the worship of images, and indeed had been one of the causes for the steadily growing estrangement between Rome and the Eastern emperors during the later seventh and the eighth centuries. At the Synod of Gentilly (767), summoned by Pippin, the condemnation of image worship promulgated at Constantinople in 754 was not accepted, but the practice was approved. But a change in the reigning prince at the Byzantine capital brought with it a change in doctrine. Irene, widow of Leo IV and regent for her son, Constantine VI, was opposed to iconoclasm, and through her action an œcumenical council so-called met in the historic city of Nicaea in 787. Legates of Pope Hadrian were indeed present, but the Frankish Church was quite unrepresented. The prohibition of 754 was removed, and image-worship received the fullest sanction. This important decision was reached—and it was intended to hold good throughout Christendom—although the Frankish Church had been neither consulted nor represented at the Council. Charlemagne was confronted with a *fait accompli* and received a version of the Council's Acts translated into indifferent Latin. If his subsequent conduct was to some extent dictated by political motives, it also arose in part from a general dislike of a type of worship which, in the extreme form practised and permitted in the East, seemed to him, and to a majority of his subjects, idolatrous. The Acts of Nicaea were submitted to his theological counsellors in France and sent also to England, where Alcuin was at that time on a visit. The authorship of the so-called *Libri Carolini* is unknown; probably they were not written by a single scholar, but were a work of collaboration.¹ The position adopted in that compilation was midway between the extremes of iconoclasm, as imposed in the East by the decision of 754, and the equally unreserved acceptance of image-worship sanctioned by the recent œcumenical council. The essential

¹ Cf. Hauck, 2, p. 329. The claims of Alcuin to be considered the author of the *Libri Carolini* have been discussed most recently by Bastgen in *Neues Archiv.*, 37 (1912), pp. 491 ff. Schubert (p. 386) poses the question whether Theodulfus might not after all be the author.

part of the argument was to the effect that, while the saints are deserving of and should receive veneration, their images are placed in churches only as a reminder of their good deeds, and to beautify the churches with works of art, plastic or pictorial.¹ Religious worship, on the other hand, is for God alone. The Pope himself, after a spirited resistance, was compelled to approve the reply to the Nicene Acts formulated by Charles and his theologians; and the Frankish monarch's claim to be head of Western Christendom, which Byzantium had so signally ignored in 787, was more than vindicated. The definitive character of the *Libri Carolini* made individual writings on the worship of images superfluous at that time. But c. 820 the outspoken 'puritanism' of Claudius of Turin, which condemned not only the veneration of images and relics, but the adoration of the Cross, pilgrimages, and the intercession of the saints, and which was one of the main counts in the charge of heresy levelled against him, called forth at the request of Louis the Pious refutations from the pen of the Irish Dungal, then residing at Milan, and of Jonas, bishop of Orléans. Both writers took the intermediate position defined by the *Libri Carolini*; both also followed the usual procedure of excerpting Patristic authors. But Dungal added a novel feature when he introduced numerous, and in some cases lengthy, quotations from the poetry of Prudentius, Paulinus of Nola, and Fortunatus. All three had sung in praise of martyrs and saints, thus providing much useful material for Dungal's purpose.² More than half of Jonas's treatise is composed of citations from Claudius's offending work, the *Liber apologeticus*, in which his views were sometimes expressed in rather intemperate terms. It is intelligible, therefore, and even excusable, that Jonas, too, wrote with some heat.³

The differences between the Frankish and the Eastern theologians regarding the Procession of the Holy Spirit had been touched on at the Synod of Gentilly and again by the authors of the *Libri Carolini*.⁴ About 802 Alcuin gave to the world his chief dogmatic work, *De fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis*, in which his definition of the Holy Spirit was quite unequivocal.⁵ The *symbolum* used in the Frankish churches,

¹ PL., 98.

² PL., 105, coll. 465-530.

³ Cf. the prefaces to the three books of Jonas's *De cultu imaginum* (PL., 106, coll. 305-88) and the acidulated passage, *ibid.*, 312C.

⁴ PL., 98, col. 1113.

⁵ Not only does Alcuin repeatedly say (PL., 101, col. 14D, 16C, *et al.*) 'Patris et Filii Spiritus est', but he writes even more precisely (16D), 'ergo hoc donum Dei, id est, Spiritus Sanctus, qui de Patre

moreover, had long described the Holy Spirit as proceeding *a patre filioque*. In 808 the Synod of Aachen formally approved the addition of the words, 'and from the Son', to the definition of the Holy Spirit in the creed which was henceforward to be the orthodox confession in the West. Pope Leo, though he did not disapprove words that had already been sanctioned by his great predecessor, Gregory I, was not prepared to make the addition to the confession of faith used in the Roman service. The formal inclusion of the words, *filioque*, was made at Rome soon after his time. Besides the more general treatise on the Trinity by Alcuin, *collectanea* from the Fathers in support of the Frankish definition of the Holy Spirit were compiled by Theodulfus, and by an unknown author whose disquisition was erroneously included by the older editors amongst the works of Alcuin.¹ In a briefer communication Smaragdus tried to maintain the same thesis by the authority of the Bible itself.² This dogmatic definition then was immutably fixed for the West; nevertheless the 'errors of the Greeks' became once more a target for dialectic shafts in the time of Charles the Bald. For Pope Nicolas I in 867 turned to the Frankish theologians for a refutation of the charges against the Western Church contained in the encyclical (866) of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople. The discourse by Odo, bishop of Beauvais, has not survived; that by Æneas, bishop of Paris, is indeed extant, but negligible, being no more than a *cento* of Patristic quotations. Very different was the long reply to the Greeks (*Contra Graecorum opposita*) elaborated by Ratramnus, a monk of Corbie.³ For, in addition to many quotations from authorities, this writer shows much of the same independence of thought which he displayed, as we shall see, in his other notable contribution to dogmatic theology. The first three books methodically rebut the Greek teaching concerning the *Processio* from the Bible, from the Fathers in general, and from Augustine in particular. So far Ratramnus followed the traditional method, though with unwonted learning and a more consequential arrangement of his material than is generally found amongst his contemporaries. The fourth and last book is historically the most interesting, even as it

et Filio procedit, ineffabilis Patris Filiique communio est'. Similarly we read a little later (20A): 'Patre et Filio aequaliter procedit.'

¹ Theodulfus in PL., 105, coll. 259-76; the pseudo-Alcuinian treatise in PL., 101, coll. 65-82.

² MGH. Concil., II, pp. 236 ff.

³ PL., 121, coll. 225-346.

is the most original in content. For in it Ratramnus examines a number of other points of dispute between the two Churches. He seeks to trace out the genesis of these differences, whilst staunchly arguing that the Greeks were wrong on every point. He ends with a passage of which the purpose is to demonstrate the inferiority of the patriarch of Constantinople to the Pope.

Ratramnus's fearless spirit had previously been shown in his controversy over the Eucharist with Radbert, a fellow-inmate of the abbey of Corbie and for a few years its abbot. In the history of the dogma of Transubstantiation, which was not definitively formulated until the Lateran Council of 1215, the disquisitions, both entitled, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, are a landmark. For the question of the Real Presence in the Eucharist had never before been the theme of a formal treatise. Inseparably connected with it in general belief, and very prominently in Radbertus's book, was that of the sacrifice of the Mass. Indeed this quite overshadowed the communion service in liturgical importance. The re-enactment of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross in the sacrifice of the Mass had long been accepted as the central act of Christian worship. And, since the words of consecration spoken by the priest celebrating the Mass, as he raised up the Host and the chalice, converted these into the very body and blood of Christ, the same miracle necessarily was enacted also at the eucharistic ceremony. It is clear that the belief in the Real Presence had long been generally held as a matter of faith. But men accepted it as a miraculous occurrence without questioning or seeking to probe into its transcendental nature. Even Amalarius of Metz, whose observations in his liturgical works leave no room for doubt that he believed in the Real Presence, did not attempt to penetrate more deeply into the mystery. Both Ratramnus and Radbertus appealed primarily to the authority of Augustine. That they reached very different conclusions was partly no doubt subjective, and in Radbertus's case the outcome of traditions accepted in his time; but it showed also that the great African doctor's transcendentalism was susceptible of very divergent interpretations. Radbertus upholds the belief, generally accepted in his day, in the miracle repeatedly enacted whenever the Mass was celebrated. The consecrated elements are changed into the same body of Christ which had been born of the Virgin, had suffered on the Cross, and had risen from the dead. But he taught that this mystery can only be apprehended by the worshippers through an act of faith, since it

was not perceptible in any change apparent to human senses. The same distinction between the outward semblance and the spiritual reality he draws when he considers the act of communion. The former is the bread and wine, which is consumed by the celebrant, since it would be improper to eat and drink the body and blood of Christ in humanly visible form. Nor in that case would there be room for the faith of the communicant, which is necessary for him in order that he can accept the spiritual reality that he has partaken of Christ's body and blood. To these explanations Ratramnus's views formed a striking contrast. He, too, of course taught that there was in the Eucharist a mystery which could only be apprehended by faith. But he differed radically from Radbertus in distinguishing between the mortal body of Christ and His spiritual body. The words, 'body and blood', are used figuratively and refer to Christ's spiritual body; it is of this last that the communicant partakes, whereas the elements at the communion remain bread and wine and are only symbolical.¹ Necessarily and logically, therefore, Ratramnus regarded the daily sacrifice of the Mass as a memorial of the real sacrifice which had taken place once only, that is to say, on the Cross.²

The two expositions of Radbertus and Ratramnus were irreconcilable, but no controversy ensued and discussion of the Eucharist remained in abeyance for two centuries. Yet we can be sure that the treatise by Radbertus, which essayed a philosophical interpretation of a mystery which most men were content to accept without question, was also approved by the great majority of theologians. Ratramnus's opinions seem, indeed, to have coincided with those held by Hrabanus and John Scotus; otherwise they were disregarded until his book, at that time wrongly attributed to the Irish scholar, was condemned by the Council of Vercelli (1050) and burnt.

But the question which caused the greatest stir in the ecclesiastical world during the ninth century and provoked the most extensive controversial literature was Predestination.

¹ Cf. PL., 121, coll. 159B-160A; a little later (161C) he cites Augustine as follows: 'sed quod pertinet ad virtutem sacramenti, non quod pertinet ad visibile sacramentum; qui manducat intus, non foris; qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente.'

² Ratramnus does not specifically discuss the Mass, but there can be no doubt about his interpretation. Cf. 170A, 'Docemur a Salvatore, necnon a sancto Paulo apostolo, quod iste panis et iste sanguis qui super altare ponuntur, in figuram sive memoriam Dominicae mortis ponantur, ut quod gestum est in praeterito, praesenti revocet memoriae.'

In the land which had once been the main stronghold of Semipelagianism the teaching of Augustine on this question was never propounded in its full rigour, in spite of the unrivalled authority of the African Father. In the Carolingian epoch, when the works of Augustine were perused and excerpted by many, both for carrying on theological disputes and for exegetical purposes, the number of those who penetrated to the heart of his philosophical or theological system was very small. And it may well be questioned whether a topic of unusual complexity, like Predestination, would have been canvassed at all, but for the action of one man. At the same time it was a pity that, as it happened, a dogma involving questions of the utmost gravity for Christian men should have become entangled with a persecution, deplorable in itself, which, by diverting attention from a metaphysical problem to the sufferings of its newest investigator, tended to obscure the real issues.

Gottschalk, of Saxon parentage, was dedicated to the religious life as a child and brought up at Fulda. On attaining to manhood he demanded to be released from the monastic vows taken on his behalf by others. The request, first granted, was subsequently refused, after Hrabanus had appealed against the decision. Gottschalk was, however, permitted to leave Fulda for another religious house. He seems at first to have stayed a while at Corbie, where he was a pupil of Ratramnus. Next we find him at Orbais. There he became very active as a teacher and at the same time became very deeply absorbed in the study of Augustine. At length, after being ordained priest, he visited Italy, spending several years there in promulgating his doctrines, until he was finally expelled the country. After further wanderings, he made his way back to Germany. In 848 he appeared before the Synod of Mayence—whether perforce or voluntarily is not clear—in order to defend his views. He was condemned and handed over to Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, for safe custody. A second synod, held in the following year at Quierzy, pronounced a second sentence of unjustifiable severity. Apart from his doctrines, Gottschalk had made himself liable to ecclesiastical discipline, because he had left his monastery without authorization, and because his ordination, carried out by a choir bishop and not by the bishop of the diocese, had been irregular. His punishment, however, was vindictive, and the whole episode has left a blot on the fair fame of Hrabanus, whose attitude had been strangely harsh

from the very first, and of Hincmar. Gottschalk was unfrocked, severely flagellated, and then imprisoned in the monastery of Hautvilliers. For a while he was allowed to devote himself to study and writing, but his work on Predestination has perished save for a few fragments. He corresponded with his old teacher, Ratramnus, and with Servatus Lupus. But after 850 his custody became more severe. He wrote nothing more save a lost tract on the Trinity, steps were taken to prevent communication on his part with the outer world, and he was perhaps condemned to perpetual silence. Yet he lived for another fifteen or twenty years, adhering unswervingly to his opinions and resolutely refusing to recant.¹

In the interval his views and his sufferings had given rise to a heated controversy and extensive literary warfare within the kingdom of Charles the Bald and beyond. The approved doctrines of the Frankish Church at this time respecting Divine Grace and free will were those which had been confirmed by the Synod of Orange in 529, that may be said to have marked the end of the Semipelagian controversy in Gaul. Its findings were a compromise. The Predestination theory of Augustine was as far as possible circumvented, while the Predestination of the wicked to damnation was explicitly rejected. During the three centuries that followed the Synod of Orange the question of Predestination remained dormant because no scholar arose who had mastered the full import of Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings or was prepared to challenge the prevailing doctrines of the Church. Gottschalk achieved the one and was fearless enough to dare the other. His most essential arguments were as follows: there is a twofold Predestination, for God by His grace has predestined some to eternal life and others by His justice to everlasting death. After Adam sinned by his own free will no one has been able to exercise his free will for good but only for evil. The result of the Predestination for evil is that man sins against his will (*invitus*), but is compelled to pursue his evil life without the hope of being cleansed from error and sin. Although God foresees both good and evil, He only predestines good, which is of two kinds, bestowal of grace and justice. By the former He predestined some to everlasting life, but by the exercise of His justice He predestined the wicked to eternal punishment. The sacraments do not avail to save the wicked. Even as no one who is predestined to punishment can be saved, so no one predestined to good can

be lost. Christ did not die for all men, but only for those predestined to be saved.

In the extensive literature called forth by Gottschalk's contentions various shades of opinion were expressed. Those who, like Hrabanus, Hincmar, and Amalarius of Metz, adhered most closely to the traditional doctrines of the Church, rejected the dogma of double or dual Predestination outright. On the other hand, there were not a few, who, being impelled to read or re-read Augustine, sided with Gottschalk in arguing for a *gemina praedestinationio*. Such were Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, archbishop Amolo of Lyons, the deacon Florus, Amolo's successor, Remigius, and Ratramnus of Corbie. Lupus of Ferrières, too, in his *De tribus questionibus*, accepted a dual Predestination, though he differed from Gottschalk on a number of other points. Thus he, and indeed all the other Carolingian divines, tried to vindicate the freedom of the human will.¹ The treatise, written by John Scotus at the request of Hincmar and published in 851, falls in a category by itself. Composed as a refutation of Gottschalk, it provoked fully as much disapproval as the theories of the Saxon monk. For the treatises of Prudentius and Florus were directed primarily against John's *Liber de praedestinatione*;² the Synods of Valence (855) and of Langres (857) rejected it, applying to it the contemptuous description, 'old wives' tales and Scot's porridge'.³ The opponents of Gottschalk generally had impugned the arguments by which he brought Divine Foreknowledge (*praescientia*) and Predestination into close conjunction and made them operate concurrently. They, on the other hand, separated the former, assigning it temporal priority, from the latter, and argued that, whereas God has a foreknowledge of both good and evil, He predestines only the good. John, in common with his contemporaries, attacked Gottschalk's position with what may seem to us undignified virulence. But he approached the whole subject from a philosophical standpoint, which was as incomprehensible as it seemed perilous and heretical to his fellow-theologians. He denied the *gemina praedestinationio*, for to him

¹ Prudentius, PL., 115, coll. 1009 ff.; Florus, PL., 119, coll. 101 ff.; Ratramnus, PL., 121, coll. 13 ff.; Remigius, PL., 121, coll. 985 ff.

² PL., 122, coll. 355-440.

³ 'Aniles paene fabulas, Scotorumque pultes puritati fidei nauseam inferentes' (Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, 4, p. 456). Thus cavalierly did an ecclesiastical synod pass judgment on a work by the most original mind of his age! John's treatise was unorthodox, but it was assuredly not negligible.

the Being of God was simple, although man was unable to apprehend it in this way, but distinguished different attributes, such as wisdom and knowledge, in the Divine Being. Thus properly Divine Predestination was merely one more humanly conceived aspect of God, so that to speak of dual Predestination was to postulate divisibility of what was simple and indivisible. Again, according to John, sin and punishment are closely interrelated, and the trend to evil which is a negative thing has nothing to do with God but proceeds entirely from the human will, or rather, from its abuse. We shall have occasion to note later that in his chief philosophical work the whole conception of sin and punishment was at variance with the ordinarily accepted, quasi-materialistic interpretation of both. Much of the odium at first directed against Gottschalk was shifted to the Irishman. The final outcome of a long and rather arid controversy was that the definitions, already formulated by Hincmar and approved by a synod at Quierzy in 853, which were upset at Valence in 855, were reaffirmed at the Synod of Toucy five years later. These pronouncements were four: there is only one Predestination of God. God wills all men to salvation. Christ's sacrifice took place to save all men. Man's free will is restored by grace. The last utterance was explained to mean that, as man's free will was lost through the action of Adam, so it was given back through Christ's sacrifice.

(b) EXEGESIS ; PASTORAL AND LITURGICAL WRITINGS

If the authority of the Fathers dominated the literature produced by the doctrinal disputes of the eighth and ninth centuries, reliance on Patristic literature was still more universal in the field of Biblical exegesis. The general similarity in method of approach and in content of most of the commentaries makes it superfluous to consider each one singly. Only a very few theologians essayed the arduous task of expounding a large portion of the Scriptures, the majority being content to concentrate on the elucidation of one or two books. Again, while some might compose their commentaries from the first with the aim of reaching a wide circle of readers, others were constrained to do so in order to meet the needs only of their own pupils. For, in spite of the activity of *scriptoria*, the standard works of earlier centuries were sometimes difficult to obtain, so that the conscientious teacher sought to fill a want by supplying his monastery with one or more exegetical works from his own hand. Nor

must it be forgotten that an author like Augustine or Jerome was often too advanced for beginners. The cases of Angelomus, a monk of Luxeuil, and of Christian of Stavelot are instructive. The former, at the request of his own teacher and of an ecclesiastical superior, composed a commentary on Genesis. Having finished one task with some success he next yielded to the entreaties of several fellow-monks at Luxeuil and some other persons and undertook to explain the Book of Kings. We are expressly told that the Luxeuil library owned no complete commentary on this work. A local reputation was succeeded by a wider renown. For in 851 the emperor Lothar invited Angelomus to his court and further requested him to compose a book on the Song of Songs.¹ Angelomus's slightly younger contemporary, Christian of Stavelot, tells his readers explicitly why he was led to write a commentary on Matthew. He found that his pupils, after they had twice received oral instruction in the Gospel, had forgotten what they had learnt. He therefore decided to write down his explanation. He adds, lest he be thought presumptuous to undertake again what had already been well done by Jerome, that the latter's exposition was often too difficult for those beginning the study of Scripture.² We may further note how that great theologian, Paschasius Radbertus, being struck with the fact that no commentary on Lamentations existed, supplied the want by composing one of considerable length.³

The most prolific commentators were Hrabanus and Claudius. The former wrote expositions of the Heptateuch, Ruth, Kings, Chronicles, Proverbs, Judith, Esther, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Maccabees, Matthew and the Pauline Epistles; the latter of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, perhaps Numbers, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Kings, Matthew, and the Pauline Epistles. Before such an output the achievement of others pales. Alcuin's most valued work of exegesis was a commentary on the Fourth Gospel; but he also dealt more briefly with Genesis, the Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Titus, Philemon, and Hebrews. The Pauline Epistles also engaged the attention of Florus of Lyons, while Sedulius Scotus put together a *collectaneum in epistulas Pauli* and one

¹ Angelomus's works in PL., 115.

² PL., 106. The present writer may also be permitted to refer to his article on Christian in *Harvard Theological Review*, 20 (1927), pp. 129-49.

³ PL., 120, coll. 1063 ff. Cf. also his letter to Odilmannus in MGH. Epist., VI, pp. 136-8.

in *Matthaeum*. This gospel was also copiously expounded by Radbertus, whose third exegetical work was a disquisition on Psalm xl. Remigius of Auxerre expounded the Psalms as a whole, while John Scotus was the author of a commentary on the Gospel according to John, for which, in addition to Augustine, he used Greek sources. The list could be prolonged by the addition of other names, but it will suffice to mention two commentaries on the Apocalypse, one by the Spanish presbyter Beatus, the other by Ambrosius Autpertus, abbot of St. Vincent on the Volturno, who seems also to have written one on Psalms i to lxx.¹ With scarcely an exception all this mass of Biblical exegesis has certain common features. It will be seen, in the first place, that many parts of the Bible were completely neglected by the commentators. Apart from Hrabanus's compilations and Walahfrid's *Glossa*, to which we shall return, no attempts were made to interpret the major and minor prophets. Even more noticeable is the exclusive attention paid to the first of the three Synoptic Gospels, the while Mark and Luke were passed over. It is true that the works of Ambrose and Bede on these Gospels were authoritative; yet, since local needs might give rise to expositions of Genesis and Matthew, in spite of the existence of earlier commentaries on these books, one is inclined to suppose that the study of Matthew was regarded as basic, while the other Gospels were expounded in connexion with the first. This supposition is borne out by Christian of

¹ A critical edition by H. A. Sanders of Beatus has recently appeared as Vol. VII (1930) of the *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy at Rome*. But Beatus's commentary, as has long been known, is a compilation from various earlier sources. Such value as it has—and this is true generally of the Biblical commentaries of the Carolingian age—lies in the evidence it provides for studying the transmission of learning from one age to another. In this particular instance most students of theology would probably agree that the most valuable feature of Beatus's book is that it preserves portions of Tyconius's commentary, which must be sifted out from the work of other commentators. The new editor of Beatus deserves the thanks of scholars for printing an accurate text based on a careful collation of more than twenty MSS. Yet to publish such a work without at the same time separating, as far as possible, Beatus's own contribution from the in all likelihood vastly greater material that he borrowed is to leave a task half finished. It is true that the editor promises an investigation of the sources by one pupil and of Beatus's language by another. But an edition in which the extracts or adaptations from earlier authors were indicated preferably in different type from Beatus's own observations would have been far more serviceable. As for Beatus's language, it may well be asked how that can be studied, until all that is not his has been segregated.

Stavelot's commentary. For there we find in a number of citations that he has added details from Luke, or that he actually quotes Luke's words instead of Matthew's before explaining a given episode in the Gospel story.¹ In the second place there is a general similarity of sources. Broadly speaking, the eighth- and ninth-century commentators do little more than reproduce the learning of an earlier age. The extremest form of this indebtedness confronts us in Hrabanus. His Biblical commentaries are made up of extracts of varying length from other writers.² Nevertheless, though he was quite unoriginal, he was widely read in exegetical literature. His main debt is to the four Latin doctors, Isidore, and Bede, but there are many other authors, including some pagan, whom he copies on occasion. His own references to his sources are incomplete, since he sometimes makes extensive use of a book without any indication to the reader that he is doing so. An excellent instance of this practice will be found in his commentary on Matthew, for it has been shown that in it he has taken over much from Claudius of Turin.³ Again, in expounding Genesis he makes no allusion to Bede, although he borrows from him throughout. Mediaeval custom did not condemn such plagiarism, which is found in many other authors besides Hrabanus. But the modern student, who would determine how much of his own ideas a particular writer has set down, is sometimes faced with a task of all but hopeless complexity. There was also a special reason why Claudius's name should have been suppressed by Hrabanus. There were many who regarded the bishop of Turin as not a little tainted with heresy. He has suffered for this in mediaeval and in modern times; for, apart from the commentary on Matthew, his works do not appear to have been widely known in the Middle Ages, and most of them are still unprinted.⁴ Claudius speaks with

¹ Cf. *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, 20 (1927), p. 141.

² Hrabanus's works in PL., 107 to 112.

³ See A. E. Schönbach, *Ueber einige Evangelienkommentare des Mittelalters in Sitzungsberichte*, Vienna Academy, 146 (1903). When Schubert (p. 739) maintains that Schönbach's contentions have been partly invalidated by J. B. Hablitzel (*Historisches Jahrbuch*, 37 [1906], pp. 74 ff.), he overlooks the fact that the latter in the next volume of the same journal (38, pp. 538 ff.) recanted and accepted Schönbach's findings.

⁴ In PL., 114, will be found only the commentaries on Kings, Galatians, and Philemon and some prefaces to other commentaries. The Matthew commentary is still unprinted and Schönbach for his inquiry used the Berlin manuscript (*Meerman*, 51).

exemplary modesty and even diffidence of his performance. He had undoubtedly read very deeply in theological literature ; but, though he was endowed with an original mind, he did not allow it scope in his commentaries. His own disappointment must have been bitter, for at first his exegetical labours had met with a wide recognition amongst his contemporaries, including that of the emperor himself.¹ Especially noticeable is the reverent awe with which he refers to Augustine.² His knowledge of that author was unrivalled. We may guess that his Augustinian studies owed much to his early stay at Lyons, where the library, as has been seen, was unusually rich in the works of the African Father.³ But his expositions, like those of Alcuin before him and Hrabanus's after him, were essentially *collectanea*. In this task of collection both Alcuin and Hrabanus on their own showing had the assistance of their pupils. Claudius appears to have worked entirely single-handed.

Almost universally the method of interpretation was that approved by the high authority of Gregory and Bede ; that is to say, in putting together their commentaries or *collectanea* on a Biblical book the Carolingian scholars chiefly had in mind the allegorizing of the Scriptures. It is true that Claudius claims to have explained Genesis historically and allegorically.⁴ Angelomus displays some interest in linguistic questions and very occasionally touches on scientific matters. Yet with them, as with the others, everything else was subordinated to the main work of setting out the spiritual sense. In practice they usually attempted only a twofold interpretation in a given passage, the literal, and either the allegorical or the tropological. But some at least knew of three, or even four, methods of interpretation. For Claudius, although he is usually content with the *littera* and the *spiritus*, also alludes to the threefold classification into physical, allegorical, and ethical sense.⁵ Hrabanus, in addition to the three familiar to him from Gregory, also names the anagogical.

Radbertus is in a different class. That he was a profound and original thinker he showed, as has been seen, by the contribution that he made to the literature of the Eucharistic controversy. Such a man might be expected to differ as an expositor from the mass of contemporary writers. His

¹ This is clear from his letters. See MGH. Epist., IV, pp. 590-613.

² Especially at the beginning of letter 5 (*op. cit.*, p. 599).

³ See above, page 184.

⁴ MGH. Epist., IV, p. 592, 2-4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 594, 29-30.

most elaborate commentary was that on Matthew. He appears to have been engaged on it for many years of his life, a considerable interval having elapsed between the composition of the first four books and the remaining eight. He was not content to string his sources, which were very varied, together, but took the utmost care both in the selection and in the disposition of his borrowed material. Particularly notable is his extensive use of Hilary of Poitiers, an author who in the other commentators of the age either plays quite a subordinate rôle or none at all. The methods of the good teacher are apparent throughout, but especially in the early books. Linguistic and grammatical usages receive much attention, also historical occurrences and even very occasionally pagan mythology. It is very evident that Radbertus was well versed in the liberal arts, just as he occasionally cited classical authors. It is the more surprising that he indulges in sharp strictures against profane authors, thereby showing his sympathy with the Gregorian point of view on this vexed question.¹ At a time when most men were prepared to compromise, Radbertus was more outspoken, forgetful of the fact that his own training had not been wholly theological. It was, however, characteristic of his active mind that he was not afraid of being controversial even on Scriptural passages and their interpretation. There is something refreshingly unusual to find a commentator in that age ready to criticize his authorities. Nor are his animadversions confined to those who, like Origen, were tainted with unorthodoxy or even heresy. Radbertus even ventures to disagree with such revered writers as Hilary and Jerome.² Another remarkable exception to general rules is furnished by the Matthew commentary of Christian of Stavelot. For in it the allegorical is severely subordinated to the literal or historical interpretation of the Gospel. Christian, moreover, adapted rather than copied such authorities as he used. His chief guide was Jerome. His historical reading was considerable, although the authors that he studied, with the exception of Josephus, all belonged to the later Imperial age, to wit, Solinus, Eutropius, the Epitomist of Aurelius Victor, and Orosius. Everywhere his commentary, which is written in a simple and unadorned style, bears witness to the hand

¹ Cf. passage quoted above, page 167.

² For a detailed investigation of Radbertus's commentary, together with a careful source analysis of typical passages, see Schönbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-75.

of an experienced teacher. Yet this sane exposition of the First Gospel, because it differed wholly in its approach from generally approved methods, appears to have enjoyed very little posthumous popularity. Only four manuscripts of it have survived; its use by later writers has so far not been demonstrable.

Finally we must mention the compilation of Walahfrid Strabo which attained immense popularity and authority throughout the Middle Ages and even later. The *Glossa ordinaria*, as it was called, was a compendious commentary on the whole of the Old and New Testaments. It consisted partly of brief interlinear notes between the lines of the Bible text, partly of longer comments in the margins. The exposition aimed chiefly at the allegorical or mystical sense of a passage, though literal interpretation was not wholly neglected. Commonly, but not invariably, the source from which the explanation was taken was indicated in the margin. In the main Walahfrid's *Glossa* was an epitome of the more voluminous commentaries by his master, Hrabanus. It would be a grave error to undervalue the work done by these exponents of the Bible, because they only reproduced other men's ideas and added little or nothing of their own. Some were men of great learning, others of more modest attainments; but all were alike in regarding the writings of their predecessors, down to and including Bede, as so classic or canonical that only ignorant presumption would have dared to go beyond their teaching or to question what they taught. What the Carolingian scholars did must be judged in the light of intellectual conditions and the intellectual and spiritual needs of the time. Only a very few men in that era had either the opportunity or the capacity for making a prolonged study, or for acquiring a comprehensive knowledge, of the third- and fourth-century classics of theological literature. Men like Alcuin and Hrabanus and their pupils put succeeding generations eternally in their debt by bringing together what seemed to them the best and the most readily assimilated utterances of the Fathers, and making this wisdom accessible to a greater circle of monks and clergy. In thus upholding authority and tradition, and transmitting to others the thoughts of those chiefly responsible for fixing the one and formulating the other, the Carolingian theologians were performing what they regarded with full justice as the highest of missions.

An interesting, though not a large, group of writings is

made up of works dealing with the monastic or the clerical life, including those of a devotional or hortatory character, or with ritual and the liturgy. Because of its wide influence and the variety of its contents Hrabanus's treatise in three books, *Concerning the education of the clergy* (*De institutione clericorum*), deserves pride of place. What has been said of his methods of compiling Biblical commentaries applies also to this book. It is culled from earlier authors, ecclesiastical and secular. Its contents may be briefly summarized. In the first book Hrabanus devotes successive sections to the different ecclesiastical grades, to the various vestments, to the proper procedure respecting catechumens, and to the sacraments. The second book describes the offices, the chief festivals of the Church, and the parts of the liturgy. Finally the proper education of the clergy, together with a short survey of the liberal arts and a somewhat fuller treatment of the training of the preacher, forms the theme of the concluding book. The contents of the first and second books are derived almost entirely from Isidore and Bede, with occasional insertions from other writers, such as Augustine or Cassian, or from Councils. It is only rarely that we find a passage of any length that is apparently Hrabanus's own.¹ The third book is even less original. Most of it is transcribed direct from Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana* and Gregory's *Regula pastoralis*. There are a few brief additions from Cassiodorus's *Institutiones*, Book II, Alcuin, and Gregory's *Moralia*; certain definitions are borrowed from the *Etymologies* of Isidore. Hrabanus's own contribution is of the slightest. He makes some comments of his own in the chapters on the liberal arts, the purpose of which is to defend their use and recommend their study as a means to an end. We can hardly doubt that he did this with the express aim of silencing those who wished to rule out secular studies entirely. For example, he emphasizes the need for *grammatica* and also for some acquaintance with metrics, pointing out the distinguished poets who have 'pleased God by their use, namely, Iuvenus, Sedulius, Arator, Alcimius, Clemens, Paulinus, Fortunatus, and many others'.² He also introduces the simile of the captive woman from Deuteronomy (21, 11 ff.), doubtless a

¹ Cf. 1, 27 (on catechizing) or 2, 28 (on alms) in the edition by A. Knöpfler (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kirchenhistorischen Seminar. München, N. 5 [1901]), in which all the material borrowed by Hrabanus is printed in italics.

² *Op. cit.*, 3, 19.

conscious reminiscence of Jerome's famous letter to the *rhetor*, Magnus.¹ His praise of dialectic is especially eloquent :

This then is the discipline of disciplines, this teaches you to teach, this teaches you to learn. In it reason itself shows and makes clear what it is, what it wills, and what it can. . . . By it we understand what it is that does good and what is a good deed, what is the creator and what the creature. By it we inquire into truth and lay hold of falsehood ; by it we argue and discover what results, what does not result, and what is contrary in nature, what is true, what has the appearance of truth, and what is utterly false in disputations. In this discipline also we seek out each thing intelligently, and define it truthfully and discuss it wisely. Wherefore it behoves the clergy to know this most noble art and to ponder assiduously on its laws, so that by it they may be able to distinguish the subtle and crafty devices of the heretic and confute his poisonous words with true syllogistic conclusions.²

The arts of the *quadrivium*, too, receive each a few words of commendation. These passages add nothing to the knowledge of the subject, but they demonstrate that Hrabanus was a faithful pupil of Alcuin and a product of Charlemagne's educational reforms. His attitude to the study of secular literature is pragmatic. If his approbation is somewhat more outspoken than that of his teacher, he followed the guidance, and did not attempt to go beyond, the views of Jerome and Augustine. Though not compiled with any great skill, the *De institutione clericorum* is a clear and succinct manual. Written comparatively early in his life (819), it affords a perspicuous index of Hrabanus's practice as a teacher, abbot, and bishop. And the untiring manner in which at all periods of his career he strove to further education, and especially to raise the intellectual standards of the clergy at Fulda and more generally throughout eastern Frankland, fully justify the sobriquet applied to him, *praeceptor Germaniae*.

Monastic reform and uniformity of observance were matters that had engaged the attention of successive Carolingian rulers and their ecclesiastical advisers. The *Rule* of St. Benedict was to be universally followed, and we have seen

¹ Cf. above, p. 29. Neither Knöpfler in his edition nor Manitius who cites Hrabanus's simile (p. 297) appears to have noticed the parallel. Hrabanus does not quote Jerome verbally, but the likeness in the thought is too close to be accidental. Moreover, there are plenty of passages where Hrabanus, instead of copying the words, merely reproduces the sense of his authority (cf. Knöpfler, p. xix). Jerome's letter is No. 70 in the collected edition.

² *Op. cit.*, 3, 20.

the steps taken by Charlemagne to procure a reliable text of it, free from interpolations.¹ But the *Rule* was very brief and its provisions required elucidation and amplification, if they were to be observed not merely loyally but intelligently by the brethren. Thus there was room for a fuller exposition of Benedict's ordinances and their purpose, based on actual experience of conventual life. The earliest commentary was composed by Paul the Deacon at Civate for his fellow-monks between c. 774 and 779. A little more than half a century afterwards Hildemar of Civate dictated the observations of Paul to his pupils, making some additions of his own, chiefly on linguistic points. His commentary cannot, therefore, be regarded as a separate work; it is merely a new edition of Paul's. The latter addressed his explanations to reasonably advanced pupils. His book is not a running-commentary on the *Rule*, but has the form of a series of lectures, which are interrupted from time to time by the questions of his pupils. The whole is thus a combination of continuous discourse and dialogue. Much attention is paid to the opinions of older scholars concerning Benedict's meaning in obscure passages, and also to variant readings in the several manuscripts which Paul collated, including the original text preserved at Monte Cassino. On the other hand, the detailed exposition by Smaragdus, abbot of St. Mihiel, who did not know Paul's work, was undertaken independently soon after 817. It was written under the influence and in the interests of Benedict of Aniane's reforms. How necessary it was to expound the *Rule* is explained by the author in his preface.² He points out that it was very imperfectly understood by many religious, so that an interpretation intelligible to the ordinary inmate of a monastery was highly necessary. His treatment is therefore a good deal more elementary in character than Paul's; in particular it disregards questions of textual criticism. Smaragdus's *Diadema monachorum* is a devotional reading book made up of extracts from the Fathers. It was composed some years before the commentary on the *Rule*. The abbot's purpose was that his monks who read a chapter from the *Rule of St. Benedict* each morning should similarly peruse a chapter from his *collectaneum* each evening. The Church

¹ The classic study of the pure and the interpolated texts of the *Rule* is L. Traube's *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti* (Second edition revised by H. Plenkers in *Abhandlungen*, Bavarian Academy; philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, 25 [1910]).

² PL., 102, col. 689.

under Charlemagne and his successors was fortunate in possessing an abundance of prelates to whom their pastoral duties were a matter of constant and earnest care. Two examples will serve to illustrate this. Agobard of Lyons strove his hardest to remedy existing institutions which he regarded as abuses. He wrote a pamphlet addressed to clergy and laity in which he roundly condemned trials by ordeal.¹ In an address to the emperor he calls upon him to abolish the duel as a means of deciding a dispute judicially, a procedure that had been sanctioned by a Burgundian law passed by king Gundobad.² Again from other tracts by Agobard we see that superstitions and heathen customs, whose eradication had troubled leading churchmen centuries earlier,³ and had engaged the close attention of Charlemagne and his ministers, were still rife. The archbishop of Lyons was as active in working for their suppression, in the interests of true religion, as his predecessors had been.⁴ In all these writings the authority of the Bible and the Patristic authors were constantly invoked. If Agobard's letters and tracts aimed at combating specific evils, Jonas, bishop of Orléans, composed his *De institutione laicali* in answer to a request made by a nobleman in his diocese to write a disquisition on Christian marriage. The bishop was not content to explain this matter alone, but put together from the Bible and many early Christian writers what we may fairly term a handbook of Christian ethics. Although he adds little of his own, he confirms the impression, also conveyed by his book on monarchical government, that he was an unusually learned man. For besides Augustine, Jerome, Gregory I, and other widely-known writers, he was also acquainted with and quoted from a number of rarer treatises. Such were the pseudo-Cyprianic tract on gambling,⁵ Pomerius's book on the contemplative life, which, in common with all mediaeval writers, he wrongly attributes to Prosper of Aquitaine,⁶ and the *Homilies* of Caesarius of Arles. In the first book Jonas treats of baptism

¹ PL., 104, coll. 249-67.

² MGH. Epist., V, pp. 158 ff.

³ Cf. above, page 88.

⁴ Cf. PL., 104, coll. 147 ff., 179 ff.; also the address against image worship, *ibid.*, 199 ff.

⁵ For the *Adversus aleatores* and the controversy about its authorship see Bardenhewer, II, pp. 496-9.

⁶ Cf. Bardenhewer, IV, p. 599. Half a century before Jonas's time Pomerius's *De vita contemplativa* was extensively used by Paulinus of Aquileia in the hortatory pamphlet addressed by him to Eric, Margrave of Friaul.

and the remission of sins, prayer and church-going, purity of life and the danger of evil living whilst professing Christianity. The second book opens with a long disquisition on marriage; this is followed by sections on the relations that should exist between clergy and laity, and on swearing, lying, false-witness, and inquisitiveness. In the third and last book the reader is given instruction about the virtues of charity, humility, and patience, and the vices of pride, hatred, and envy, about the eight major sins, alms, visiting the sick, death and burial, resurrection, the day of judgment, the eternal punishment of the wicked and the reward of the good.¹

The chief liturgical authority of the ninth century was Amalarius of Metz. A pupil of Alcuin, he attracted the favourable notice of Charlemagne, who seems to have consulted him on the Baptismal rite and entrusted him with an important diplomatic mission that took him to Constantinople. In 814 he resigned the bishopric of Trèves which he had occupied for five years.² For the next twenty his ecclesiastical position is uncertain, but he may have held an abbacy. At all events it was during that period that his liturgical works were written. In his *De ecclesiasticis officiis* in four books he set himself to interpret the inward meaning of the Mass and of the festivals of the ecclesiastical year. The disciple of Alcuin, and already imbued deeply with the tradition, taken over by his master from Bede and handed on to the next generation, of allegorizing or reading a mystical significance into the Bible, Amalarius applied this method of interpretation to the sacrament of the Eucharist and to other parts of the liturgy. To do so most effectively he made a profound study of Patristic literature, as well as of all the liturgical books to which he could get access. It is evident that the efforts made by Chrodegang of Metz and then by Charlemagne's advisers, to attain uniformity in ritual, and more especially to secure full adherence to the Roman rite, had only partially succeeded. How much variation still existed in Amalarius's time, even where it might be least expected, can be illustrated by one experience that he relates. Among the liturgical books obtained by him in France was an *ordo Romanus*, which

¹ PL., 106, coll. 121-278.

² This assumes the identity of Amalarius of Trèves and Amalarius of Metz, following Dom G. Morin (*Rev. bénéd.*, 8 [1891], pp. 433 ff., and 9 [1892], pp. 337 ff.); Debroise in DCAL., I, coll. 1323-30; Manitius, I, p. 398. Amalarius's treatises will be found in PL., 105, his letters in MGH. Epist., VI.

he not unreasonably regarded as authoritative. But on visiting Rome he discovered that the actual usage there at that time differed considerably from what was laid down in that volume.¹ He followed up his big work by putting together a new antiphonary to be used at Metz, a composition now unhappily lost. In view of the dissimilarity between the many existing antiphonaries, he desired to furnish one which, based on the soundest ascertainable tradition and practice, might be accepted thereafter as standard. The surviving treatise, *De ordine antiphonarii*, he wrote both as a commentary on, and as a justification of, his new antiphonary. It is clear that the lost service-book was a conflation of an *antiphonarium Romanum* from the time of Hadrian I (772-795), which he obtained, not in Rome, where he searched in vain, but at Corbie, and that previously followed at Metz. It was perhaps unfortunate that Amalarius was called to Lyons in 835; whether as choir bishop or to take general charge of the diocese during Agobard's exile, is not clear. At all events he took steps to introduce the new antiphonary there, but met with the bitterest opposition, especially from Agobard's faithful henchman, Florus. The sequel was that the whole of Amalarius's liturgical teaching became an object of attack culminating in a summons before a Synod at Quierzy in 838 to answer charges of heresy. His views were condemned and he was forced to leave Lyons; we do not however hear of any other action being taken against him. He was impeached at the Synod on five major and several minor counts. Four of the major charges, which concerned the canon and sacrifice of the Mass, were made possible chiefly because of the somewhat unguarded language that Amalarius had permitted himself to use, and which was easily liable to be misinterpreted. For example, in stating that 'the body of Christ is triform and tripartite', he had in mind the then established ritual. When the consecrated wafer was broken, one portion of the Host was placed in the chalice, one was reserved for communion, and one remained on the altar. This triple division, Amalarius taught, had a mystical significance.

By the portion of the wafer placed in the chalice is meant the body of Christ which has already risen from the dead; by that portion which is eaten by the priest and congregation is meant Christ who still walks on earth; by that which remains on the altar is meant Christ lying in the tomb. . . . And that portion

¹ PL., 105, col. 1245C.

stays on the altar to the end of the Mass, because to the end of the world the bodies of the saints shall lie at peace in their graves.¹

It is not difficult to see how an embittered opponent, like Florus, could speciously charge Amalarius with teaching that Christ had three bodies, assuredly the gravest of heresies. The fifth of the major accusations was a general indictment of Amalarius's allegorical interpretations, on the ground that what was legitimate or even appropriate in explaining the Old Testament, in order to demonstrate its prophetic character and its promise of the coming of Christ and His Church, was wholly inappropriate and even mischievous when applied to the New Testament. For the meaning of this was clear and to be accepted literally; any attempt to interpret the words esoterically would result in blurring the central fact of Christ's mission on earth and all that followed therefrom. In spite of the prelates who condemned Amalarius, his method, though it occasionally went to extremes, was the one which the Middle Ages as a whole regarded with most sympathy. Indeed, the views implied by the judgment of Quierzy were those of a minority; and one may legitimately wonder whether those members of the Synod, if any such attended, who voted entirely without personal bias or any ulterior motive to hasten the restoration of Agobard, had not, like Christian of Stavelot somewhat later, been influenced by the writings of the Antiochene school of exegesis. Amalarius's authority was not permanently shaken. Even before his death his reputation as a learned theologian was so firmly established that he was consulted by Hincmar in connexion with the Predestination controversy. His writings were studied and excerpted by a succession of writers from the tenth to the twelfth century.² The *De ecclesiasticis officiis* was a book, moreover, which during the Middle Ages had an honoured place in many libraries. It is significant that two manuscripts of the ninth, five of the tenth, and two of the eleventh century still survive. Amalarius based his exegesis on an abundance of earlier material. We meet in his pages with extracts from Ambrose and Ambrosiaster, Augustine, Chrysostom, Origen, Cyprian, Jerome, Eusebius, Orosius, Cassiodorus, and Bede; he made

¹ *De eccles. off.*, 3, 35 (PL., 105, coll. 1154D-1155A). Cf. also the full discussion of the charges against Amalarius in R. Mönchmeier, *Amalar von Metz (Kirchengeschichtliche Studien, I, 3-4 [Münster, 1893])*, pp. 49-53, 108-18.

² Cf. the valuable concluding chapter in Mönchmeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-29.

use of the *Liber pontificalis* and consulted the Decretals of Innocent I; we have already seen that he compared as many antiphonaries and sacramentaries as possible. His represents the first systematic attempt to interpret the liturgy as a whole, a circumstance of vital worth to the Middle Ages, which explains the attention that he received from later specialists in liturgical questions. To the modern investigator of the history of the liturgy, familiar with the Roman rite as it now is, Amalarius's works are an important landmark. They are, moreover, unusually precious for the precise information that they afford about the Church ritual in use at Metz during the ninth century, and the narrowing differences at a critically formative period between North Frankish and Roman usage, from which the universally accepted Roman rite finally emerged in a later age.

Compared with them the pamphlet of Walahfrid Strabo, entitled awkwardly enough, *De exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*, was a slight performance. Yet it is interesting to find that the author, while he consulted Amalarius, did not follow him in his mystical interpretation of various rites and institutions. He confined himself, rather, to a short investigation of their historical origins. The little book, indeed, contains not a little that is of interest both to the archæologist and to the student of language.¹

¹ Cf. note 5 on p. 193 for modern editions of the work.

CHAPTER XIII

THE LITERATURE OF THE CAROLINGIAN AGE

(a) POLITICAL IDEAS

IT was a salutary thing, such as betokened a time of intellectual awakening, when men turned their minds to political theory, especially to the relation between Church and State. The formal treatises composed in this age were, it is true, not many. But we meet with incidental utterances in writers, like Alcuin and Hrabanus, who never attempted to devote a whole book to the theory of government, but show by them that they were not uninterested in some of its problems. Five works deal specifically with the subject. There is first a brief address in epistolary form written by one, Kathvulf, to Charlemagne.¹ Between 812 and 815 Smaragdus of St. Mihiel composed his *Via regia* for Louis the Pious.² The *De institutione regia* of Jonas, bishop of Orléans, was written in 834.³ The *De rectoribus Christianis*, by Sedulius Scotus, saw the light about twenty years later.⁴ Latest of all was the treatise of Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, entitled, *De regis persona et regio ministerio*.⁵ Of these works only that by Jonas was clearly a *pièce d'occasion* caused by specific political events. For it was called forth by Louis' unhappy dispute with his sons and his ignominious abdication, and was written for the guidance of the young king, Pippin, so that he might avoid the misgovernment which had been his father's undoing.⁶

There are certain characteristics common to all those who in this epoch reflected on the problem of government. There is, in the first place, a common background, namely, Patristic authority, and especially that of Augustine. All alike were Churchmen, and consequently all approached the questions at issue through theology. On the other hand, none, and

¹ MGH. Epist., IV, 502 ff.

² PL., 102, coll. 933 ff. For the date and the fact that it was addressed to Louis cf. my note in *Speculum*, 3 (1928), pp. 392-7.

³ PL., 106, coll. 279-306.

⁴ Edited by S. Hellmann, *Sedulius Scottus* (Münich, 1906), pp. 19-91.

⁵ PL., 125, coll. 833 ff.

⁶ See Jonas's prefatory letter to the king, especially col. 283A-D.

least of all those who, like Hincmar, were profound students of civil and canon law, could remain uninfluenced by the society and institutions of their day. But in the law and government of Charlemagne and his successors two very different elements, the Roman and the Germanic, were represented, and the fusion of the two had not yet been completely effected. Hence the Roman-Christian concepts, which the political thinkers of the ninth century had taken over from Christian writers of the later imperial period, were, to a greater or less degree, modified by concepts derived from the society in which they lived and forming a direct contrast to them. The opposition between what we may conveniently term the Roman and the Germanic theory is most apparent when the relation of the ruler to the law is under consideration. The Roman emperors, at least in later imperial times, had been the sole source of law, and were thought of themselves as in some manner above the law. But amongst the Germanic peoples the monarch could claim no such absolute powers. For, although a strong king could generally enforce his will in legislative matters, he did not issue his ordinances without the acquiescence of the leading men in Church and State; in promulgating them he coupled their names with his, or even with that of his people as a whole. It follows that, even as the legislative power was not concentrated solely in his hands, so also he could not be regarded as above the laws, but was, like his subjects bound by them.¹ A sentiment, such as is expressed by Sedulius, 'the wise ruler summons wise men to his council and does nothing without their advice, but the foolish ponders with himself and does what his momentary wishes bid without the advice of others',² is indeed a rather general sentiment, applicable to all, not merely to the legislative functions of the king. But the legally trained mind of Hincmar was more explicit. His treatise, *De regis persona et regio ministerio*, is indeed hardly more than a cento of extracts from Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory. But in the *De ordine palatii* his own judgements are found side by side with the authority of tradition. His pronouncement concerning the monarch and the law is so notable that it deserves to be cited as it stands:³

¹ Cf. the full discussion with citations from contemporary legislation as well as from the theorists in A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*, I, pp. 229-39.

² Page 38, 16-18, in Hellmann's edition.

³ *De ordine palatii*, 8, in MGH. Leg., II, 2, p. 520, 25-35.

Even as it has been said concerning ecclesiastical laws that 'no priest may be ignorant of their canons nor yet do aught that might obstruct the rules of the fathers', so also the sacred (*i.e.* Roman) laws have decreed that 'no man may be in ignorance of the laws or scorn existing statutes'. When it is stated, 'no man may be in ignorance of the laws or scorn existing statutes', no person in any class of men is excepted, so that he is not bound by this pronouncement. For monarchs and ministers of the state have laws by which it is their duty to govern the inhabitants of every province, they have the capitularies of Christian kings and of their forebears, which these proclaimed with the general consent of their faithful subjects that they would observe in accordance with law. Concerning these the blessed Augustine says, 'men may exercise their judgement on these laws when they institute them; but when they have been instituted and confirmed, it shall not be lawful for judges to judge about them but only in accordance with them'.

It must be remembered that the treatises of Smaragdus, Jonas, and Sedulius are essentially hortatory. They contrast the good and the bad ruler; in enumerating the virtues that make up the former and the duties that devolve upon him, if he is to remain a just king, they reproduce examples from the Bible and citations from earlier writers of authority. We have already remarked that the tract on the twelve abuses of the age by an unknown Irishman was favourite literature with the Carolingian scholars. Both Jonas and Hincmar go so far as to quote the chapter on the just and the unjust monarch in full. Jonas introduces other lengthy citations from Isidore's *Sententiae*, Augustine's *City of God*, and Fulgentius of Ruspe. Sedulius devotes considerable space to the king's treatment of his relatives, servants, and nearest friends and counsellors. For the king's task is a threefold one. 'He must in the first place rule himself; next he must rule his wife and children and their servants; in the third place he must rule his people, committed to his care, with a reasonable and exalted governance.'¹ He also discusses in some detail the monarch's conduct in relation to his enemies. The Christian ruler must trust in divine aid rather than in his own courage and that of his troops; he must implore it even in the very clash of battle.² He must be clement to his enemies and avoid pride over his victory manifesting itself in tyrannous treatment of the vanquished.³ All these chapters Sedulius has filled out with numerous illustrations, drawn partly from the Bible, partly from Roman history,

¹ Page 34, 2-4.

² Chaps. 14 and 15.

³ Chaps. 16 and 17.

using for the latter Cassiodorus's *Tripartite History* and the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. There is a marked difference in certain respects between the discourses of Smaragdus and Jonas on the one hand and that of Sedulius on the other. All three works, and for that matter Kathvulf's open letter also, resemble one another in a general way, inasmuch as they are all, as it were, manuals of Christian ethics for Christian rulers. But Sedulius's book is more diffuse and less consequential in its treatment of the main theme. Its author is sometimes in danger of forgetting his argument amid the wealth of illustrations that he provides. While abbot and bishop cared little for literary form but were genuinely concerned to guide the steps of still youthful princes, in the versatile Irish monk the would-be literary artist is constantly throwing the moral teacher into the shade. One or two special features deserve brief notice. None of these writers pondered seriously and independently over human society as a whole. They accepted what they were familiar with, and, where general questions arose, they were content to reproduce the verdict of the Fathers. Yet in one point Smaragdus differed from other men of his age; he appeals to Louis to condemn outright the institution of slavery and urges him to prohibit enslavement in his realm.¹

The vital question which was to agitate the Christian world so often in the later Middle Ages, that is to say, the relation between the Temporal and the Spiritual Power, is first tentatively mooted in the ninth century. Many years were still to elapse before the *dictum* of Fulgentius of Ruspe, which was frequently cited in the Councils of the late eighth and of the ninth centuries, was seriously or effectively challenged, to wit: 'as far as concerns this life on earth it is agreed that in the Church no one is greater than the pontiff, and in the Christian world no one is higher than the emperor.'² Smaragdus and Hincmar's *De regis persona* provide little beyond extracts from earlier authorities. Sedulius's attitude to the Temporal Power is summed up in the following words from the first chapter of his book:³

¹ PL., 102, col. 967A—ne in regno tuo captivitas fiat; cf. also generally Carlyle, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

² PL., 65, col. 647D—quantum pertinet ad huius temporis vitam constat quia in ecclesia nemo pontifice potior, et in saeculo Christiano nemo imperatore celsior invenitur. On the not infrequent use of Fulgentius by Carolingian scholars see my paper in *Mélanges Hrovchovsky* (Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kiev, 1928), pp. 445-56.

³ Page 22, 14-22.

Inasmuch as the good ruler recognizes that he has been appointed by God, in so much he watches with pious anxiety how he may before God and men arrange and weigh all things in good order according to the scales of righteousness. For what are the rulers of Christian people save servants of the All-powerful? Further, each servant is satisfactory and faithful who with sincere devotion shall do the bidding of his master and lord. Hence the most pious and renowned princes feel it a greater glory to be called and to be the servants and slaves of the Most High than the lords and kings of men.

Towards the end of his work Sedulius writes :¹

For it behoves the ruler beloved of God whom His divine ordinance has desired to be, as it were, His vicar in the governance of His Church, and has bestowed on him authority over both orders, namely, prelates and subjects, to the end that he may decree to each several persons what is just so that under his dispensation the former order may take the lead in good teaching and good works, and the latter may in devoted obedience be faithfully submissive.

The good ruler must see to it that 'the heads of the Church occupy their places legitimately'; he must support them in exercising their office 'according to the mandates of God and the institutions of the sacred canons', and 'let not the secular powers hinder them'. We see, then, that there is no statement which makes the king in any way subordinate to the ruler of the Church; on the contrary, the king is called the vicar of God, a phrase already found in Ambrosiaster, and it is suggested that the Temporal Power may be used to prevent irregularities in the Church. But the ruler and the ecclesiastical authorities are, in the main, pictured as working hand in hand for the common good. In a word, Sedulius's point of view was that generally held by the contemporaries of Charlemagne.² Jonas, however, is a more outspoken defender of ecclesiastical claims. At the beginning of his book he observes :³

All the faithful must know that the Church universal is the body of Christ and the head thereof is Christ, and in the Church universal

¹ Page 86, 5-10. The citation of this passage in Carlyle, *op. cit.*, p. 259, note 1, is imperfect, his volume having been written some years before the publication of Hellmann's critical text. It may be remarked that Ambrosiaster's *Quaestiones veteris et novi Testamenti* was well known in the ninth century; six extant manuscripts date from that period. See the introduction to A. Souter's edition in CSEL., 50.

² Cf. above, p. 148.

³ PL., 106, col. 285B.

there are chiefly two outstanding persons, the priestly and the royal. The priestly is insofar more excellent inasmuch as he shall render account to God for kings themselves.

He next quotes the famous utterance of Pope Gelasius in which that pontiff set the *auctoritas sacra pontificum* above that of the emperor; Jonas also cites the passage from Fulgentius to which we have already referred. In his second chapter he deals with the priestly power and authority; the very fact that he discusses it before passing on to a more detailed study of the Secular Power is an index to his attitude on the question. First among the king's duties, moreover, is to be the 'defender of the churches and servants of God'. In certain of Hincmar's addresses, too, we find a similar insistence on the superiority of the bishop in spiritual matters. Thus we must set against those writers who, like Sedulius, seem to assign first place to the king-emperor, others who enunciate the principle that in his specific sphere the head of the Church stands higher than the ruler of the State, because even the monarch is not exempt from ecclesiastical censure, if he transgress against the Christian religion. If authors, like Jonas and Hincmar, took an independent line, this was at least in part due to changed political conditions. The claims to, and the actuality of, supremacy in the Church and the State, which mark the later years of Charlemagne's reign, perished with him; and it is significant of the instability which characterized much of the political history of the ninth century that the princes of the Church could in theory, and sometimes also in practice, arrogate to themselves authority such as fifty years earlier not even Hadrian or Leo could enforce against the ruler of the Franks. On the other hand in the ninth, as in the eighth century the Temporal Power did intervene in certain ecclesiastical affairs. This was noticeably the case when important ecclesiastical posts had to be filled. Such intervention, moreover, was accepted as normal and proper. Contrariwise, the dividing line between spiritual and temporal questions was narrow and might easily become blurred. An Agobard defied even the emperor, although the question of Jewish disabilities or rights in Lyons, however it might be disguised by appeals to the Scriptures, was primarily economic.

It is evident that throughout the Carolingian era men's ideas on government were still in a very fluid, unsettled state. What they thought at any given time was determined chiefly by existing circumstances. A generally held belief in a dual

control between Church and State, the one over spiritual, the other over secular matters, did not lead them to formulate any political theory in which the relations of the one to the other were sharply defined, still less one in which, what after all was only a single, if very important, problem was merged in a larger philosophical analysis, embracing the structure and progress of human society, law, and government.

(b) PHILOSOPHY

Previous chapters will have made abundantly clear the essential character of the Carolingian Revival. The age of Pippin had come upon the western world like a spring, to be succeeded by the long and radiant summer of Charlemagne's reign. Then the autumnal decline which set in soon after his death was for a space arrested by a short but brilliant Indian summer under Charles the Bald. The civilizing agent on which these princes relied—and there could have been no other—was the Church. The means to carry out their cultural mission her leaders and teachers found in the classical learning which the Church had preserved, and in part transformed, through the centuries, and in that theology which also was a heritage from earlier times. Great as the resultant achievement undoubtedly was, the almost unvarying adherence to tradition that characterized both the secular and the theological literature of the Carolingian age set very definite limits to the development of thought. This is not to say that the eighth and ninth centuries were totally lacking in originality. But the degree to which writers of that epoch, whatever their field of study, could formulate new concepts or initiate a new approach to an old problem was severely restricted by the overmastering hold exercised by authority and tradition. It is true that there were not wanting men who displayed a freedom of judgement which a century or two later would have exposed them to sharp penalties. Such were Agobard and Claudius. But it is surely proof of a certain enlightened liberalism on the part of the Church and of the secular government that, with the unmerciful exception of Gottschalk, such independent spirits brought on themselves no more than a literary warfare, or, at the very worst, inconsiderable temporary disabilities. On the other hand, it can occasion no surprise that speculative philosophy should have secured no more than one faithful disciple; indeed, the total absence of any metaphysician in that era would be less remarkable than the solitary phenomenon of John

Scotus. The liberal arts as then understood and taught opened no avenue to philosophy. For even dialectic as expounded by the unchallenged authority of Alcuin was, as we saw, no more than the simplest elements of logic designed to aid the teacher of literature or theology or the expositor of the sacred text. We have, indeed, a curious example of dialectic in a letter addressed by Fridugis, Alcuin's successor at Tours, to certain members of the Frankish court.¹ In it the writer tries to explain the meaning of *Nihil* (Nothing) and *Tenebrae* (Darkness), and to demonstrate the reality of the former and the corporeal, *i.e.*, material character of the latter. It is hard to see in the misplaced ingenuity of his arguments more than an attempt to apply to what the ordinary pupil would regard as abstractions the simple dialectic learnt from his master, Alcuin.

It was only John Scotus who, having mastered the dialectic method in a manner quite unapproached by any mediaeval thinker before the great days of scholasticism, proceeded to build up a philosophical system as impressive as it was unique. The early life and training of this versatile genius are entirely unknown. He seems to have come from his native Ireland to Western France a little before 850. He is generally believed to have been a layman since he is never referred to as either a monk or the holder of any ecclesiastical rank. For some thirty years he lived in his adopted home and died there soon after 877. In spite of the opposition or even active hostility aroused by some of his writings he retained to the end the friendship and admiration of Charles the Bald. His labours as a translator and as a commentator on both sacred and profane works have already been considered, as also the isolated position that he occupied in the Predestinarian controversy. In the treatise which he wrote on that occasion (851) he had already made known certain of his peculiar views. But nearly two decades elapsed before the *magnum opus*, wherein his transcendental philosophy was set out in its entirety, was given to the world.² Its Greek title, *περὶ φύσεως μερισμοῦ*, with the Latin sub-title, *De divisione naturae* (*On the division of the universe*), was characteristic of the man who had followed up his Augustinian studies by a prolonged occupation with the pseudo-Dionysius and Maximus.

¹ MGH. Epist., IV, pp. 552 ff.

² The book was completed after the translation of Maximus and was used by Heiric of Auxerre in a poem published in 873. Hence the date of its appearance is usually placed about the year 870.

Nor was his acquaintance with Greek theology confined to these two. He had read in the original portions of Epiphanius and Gregory of Nyssa, whom, strange to say, he seems to have regarded as identical with Gregory of Nazianzus. For certain works of Origen and John Chrysostom he relied on Latin renderings, presumably because he could not get access to the Greek text. Of Plato and Aristotle he knew no more than the other men of his time, namely a Latin translation of the *Timaeus* and Boethius's versions of the *De interpretatione* and the *Categories*.¹ John begins by dividing 'nature', that is, Reality or the totality of all things, into four classes, as follows : ²

Methinks that the division of the universe by four differentiations (*differentias*) produces four kinds (*species*). The first division is into that which creates and is not created ; the second into that which is created and creates ; the third into that which is created and does not create ; the fourth into that which neither creates nor is created. Of these four each one of two pairs is opposed to the other ; for the third is opposed to the first and the fourth to the second. But the fourth is classed amongst impossibles, since its difference is that it cannot exist.

A second classification of John distinguishes 'things which are' from 'things which are not'. By the former are meant all those things which can be apprehended by the intellect or by sense, while the latter are incomprehensible because they are outside sense perception and cannot be grasped by the intellect. In the third place John follows the pseudo-Dionysius in his twofold division of theology into the affirmative (*καταφατική*) and negative (*ἀποφατική*). The four divisions of 'nature' are not to be understood as four separate groups but as four different aspects of one cosmic process. The first

¹ Most modern writers state that John used Chalcidius's translation of the *Timaeus*, but this is by no means certain. The fullest examination into John's sources is that by J. Dräseke, *Johannes Scotus und dessen Gewährsmänner* (*Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie*, IX, 2 [Leipzig, 1902]), and he has given some reasons for supposing that John may have known Cicero's version. The important discovery by C. H. Beeson, kindly communicated to me in a letter, that Lupus annotated *Vindobonensis* 189, which contains amongst other philosophical works the *De universo*, is further proof that Cicero's rendering of the *Timaeus* was known in Northern France during the ninth century. John may well have seen it. On the other hand, it must be admitted that in at least one passage John attributes to Plato something which he found in Chalcidius's commentary on the *Timaeus*. See P. Duhem, *Le système du monde*, III (1915), p. 61.

² PL., 122, col. 441B.

and fourth are comprehensible of God alone, for in the former aspect God, the creating, not created, is regarded as an essence or as the first principle of the universe, in the latter, that which neither creates nor is created, God is conceived as the end to which all things return, in whom all things are at rest. The second division is concerned with first causes, the ideas or prototypes of all created things, the third with all things in the created world or world of sense. John explains the relation of these two when he observes :¹

For whatever things seem in the processes of their natures to be separated and divided in multiple fashion are united and are one in the primordial causes. And, destined to return to that unity, they will abide in it everlastingly and immutably.

The Divine Being is incomprehensible. He is the beginning, middle, and end of all things. All classifications that we may use are not properly applicable to God, but are merely forms of thought which we must use because our intelligence is finite. Similarly, nothing can properly be predicated of God, and John at great length sets out to show that none of the ten categories is applicable to the Divine Being.²

Affirmative theology may speak of God as Being, or equate Him with Divine Wisdom, Divine Justice, and so forth. But God is more than Being, more than wise. And to each of these qualities there is an opposite, so that by predicating wisdom, justice, and so on, of God, we also bring Him into the sphere of opposites. Consequently only negative theology can correctly define Him. Any definition that can be made is ultimately negative. Thus John writes :³

He who says that God is superessential does not say what He is but what He is not ; for he says that He is not Being (*essentia*), but more than Being. He does not explain what that is which is more than Being, when he states that God is not one of those things that are, but is more than those things that are. What that being (*i.e. superessentia*) is, he in no way defines.

God is thus both superexistent, non-existent, and the only Reality ; and it may be added that in one place God is actually described as *Nihilum*, Nothing. From Him emanate the primordial causes, the nine classes of angels, and the material universe. Man himself is, as it were, a microcosm.

For it is agreed amongst philosophers that in man every creature is contained. He understands and reasons, like an angel ; he

¹ PL., 122, col. 527A.

² *ibid.*, 463A to 524B.

³ *ibid.*, 462C.

is sentient and has a care for his body, like an animal ; and thereby every creature is intelligible in him. There is a fivefold division of all creatures : for a creature is either corporeal (*i.e.*, inanimate objects), or vital (*i.e.*, plants), or sensible (*i.e.*, lower animals), or rational (*i.e.*, man) or intellectual (*i.e.*, angels).¹

John himself was satisfied that he had brought his idealist philosophy into accord with Christian theology as ordinarily understood in his day. But it will be seen at once that on his contemporaries his philosophical adjustment of theological dogma would necessarily make a far less pleasing impression. His doctrine of the Trinity is an essential part of his exposition of the creation process. For the primordial causes or divine ideas, the sum of which is equivalent to the *Logos*, are eternally created by the Father in the Son.

God the Father is the cause of both the Son and the Holy Spirit. The Son is the cause of the divine ideas or prototypes created in Him by the Father. The Holy Spirit is the cause of the distribution of the same causes (*i.e.*, the divine ideas).²

Immediately after this summing up John enters into the question whether the Father alone was the cause of the Holy Spirit or the Father and the Son. His answer that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father *through* the Son brought him into line with the teaching of the Eastern Church and into opposition with the formulation officially approved for Western Christendom by the Synod of Aachen.

We meet the principle of triple division in other parts of John's system, and it, as it were, runs parallel to the Divine Trinity. He expresses the function of the Trinity in one place by saying :³

The Father wills, the Son creates, the Holy Spirit perfects. Nor does this appear contrary to theology which says, ' the Father has created all things in the Son '. For the Father's willing all things to be and His creating all things in the Son are not two separate things, but the Father's willing and creating are one and the same. For the willing is this action. And we must understand this similarly of the Son and the Spirit. Their operation is nothing other than Their will. Nor is there one will of the Father, one of the Son, one of the Holy Spirit, but it is one and the same will, one love of three substances of one existent (*essentialis*) goodness, by which the Father causes Himself to create all things in the Son and to perfect them in the Holy Spirit.

¹ *ibid.*, 755B.

² *ibid.*, 601B.

³ *ibid.*, 554A-B.

Now the human soul is triple, consisting in intellect, reason, and 'sense', and it is, as it were, an image of the Trinity, even as man is himself a microcosm. The highest concepts are created by the intellect in the reason, and these are separated and distributed into the visible world by 'sense'. In another definition 'sense' is said 'to occupy the last place of the human soul, rightly, since it moves around (*circumvolvitur*) the effects, visible and invisible, of the primordial causes'.¹ The number three meets us also in another connexion, when John expounds that all intellectual (*i.e.*, angels) and rational (*i.e.*, men) natures have being (*essentia*), power to act (*virtus*), and action (*operatio*), which are incorruptible and eternally abiding.²

In conclusion, we must allude once more to John's exposition of a central question in orthodox theology—the fall of man, sin, and punishment. His detailed treatment of the opening chapters of Genesis is, of course, purely allegorical. Sin is entirely negative and is the result of an abuse of free will, this last being in itself good. The cause for the abuse cannot be discovered. Yet man fell immediately after his creation.

A creature (*i.e.*, man) is not evil, nor yet his knowledge, but the perverse motion of the rational soul is bad. Through this he abandons contemplation of his Maker and turns himself with death-bringing steps and with lustful and unlawful desire to a love of material objects of sense. Thence he cannot return unless he is first set free by Divine Grace.³

Punishment, again, proceeds from the will, not from nature. What we call the punishment of the wicked consists in the anguish of the perverted will when in the final consummation it will not find that which it desired in earthly life. By making thus much concession to orthodox theology John really deviated from consistency. For even an eternal punishment such as he envisages is an excrescence on his main philosophical system, in which the cycle of divine creation is perfected by the return of all things to God. A highly mystical delineation of the eight stages by which the final reunion of the many in the One will be accomplished brings John's work to a conclusion.

A system, based on John's interpretation of Augustine and the combination of Christian theology and Neoplatonism comprised in the works of the pseudo-Dionysius, was too alien from the understanding of Western Christendom in his day to receive approval or even serious attention. John only

¹ PL., 122, col. 570C.

² *ibid.*, 486B.

³ *ibid.*, 844D.

resembled his contemporaries in this, that he, too, obtained his material from others, and that ultimately his appeal also was to authority. But, unlike his fellow-theologians, he so mastered the teaching contained in his sources, and so fused and even transmuted it, that the result was a work original in its substance and highly individual in its style. For this, though difficult and sometimes unwieldy, is essentially John's own. His translations from the Greek, although they were pioneer works that first made accessible an important body of Greek doctrines hitherto unknown to the West, were little regarded in his time and for many years to come. The same is no less true of his masterpiece. Attempts have been made to trace the influence of his philosophy on a variety of thinkers from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, but they cannot be said to carry conviction. With few exceptions, and those chiefly in obscure heretical writers, the supposed similarities of thought are too general and too vague to make indebtedness to John even probable. The *De divisione naturae* was finally condemned in 1225 by a bull of Honorius III. That it did not suffer this fate long before is in itself proof that it was little studied; and it may well be doubted whether Papal action would have been taken at all, if the condemnation of Amalric of Bène had not drawn attention to the Irishman's treatise. It was otherwise with John's expository works. Both the commentaries on Martianus and on the *Tractates* of Boethius appear to have exercised considerable influence. Lastly, it is not possible to agree with those who would see in John the forerunner of scholasticism or even 'the first of the scholastics'. For, apart from his skilful use of dialectic which, knit, as it is, into the very fabric of the *De divisione naturae*, the effect being heightened by the use of the dialogue form, might seem on a superficial view to justify this classification, there is no common ground between him and the Schoolmen. In the history of philosophy he is a figure of isolated grandeur; and it would not be easy to find another thinker of equal intellectual stature whose contribution to human thought aroused so few echoes either amongst contemporaries or posterity.

CHAPTER XIV

THE LITERATURE OF THE CAROLINGIAN AGE : POETRY

THE first impression made on the mind of the reader who peruses the four massive volumes of Carolingian poetry in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* is inevitably one of fatigued disappointment. True, the variety of subjects deemed worthy of poetic treatment is not small. But there is a monotonous conformity to certain models. From the trammels imposed by these genuine inspiration or originality of thought were able to disentangle themselves but seldom. Against the overmastering authority of the classical poets of Rome and of the Christian poets of the later Empire free poetic fancy could not often prevail. At the same time it is only fair to observe that, if the bulk of the poetry composed in any other century were brought together in four or five folios, the superficial effect would be hardly more favourable. For, unavoidably, mediocrity would command undue attention and would overshadow real talent or even genius. And it is well to recollect that, even in the greatest ages of poetic literature, which, like the Athenian in the fifth century, are now judged by a small number of masterpieces from the hand of the greatest artists, there was a great output of indifferent poetry which providentially has perished. While, then, it is undoubtedly true that the Carolingian epoch produced no poet to rank with the immortals, it is also true that there were four or five who, both as literary artists and as poets, stand high above the crowd of their versifying contemporaries. Again, we must not forget that the authors who can be identified were monks or Churchmen. Hence there is a preponderance of narrative and elegiac poetry, which is either purely religious or at least has a didactic purpose. Much of this, too, runs to inordinate length. The poem by Milo of St. Amand (c. 810-871), *On sobriety*, is composed of 2,118 hexameter lines.¹ The lament on the death of Hathumoda, first abbess of Gandersheim, by Agius, which is cast in the form of a dialogue between the poet and the

¹ MGH. Poet., III, pp. 613 ff.

nuns of the covent, extends to 359 elegiac couplets, or 718 lines in all.¹ In Hrabanus's poem, *De fide catholica*, there are 608 rhythmic octosyllabic verses with a single, double, or even triple rhyme in every couplet.² The saints' lives are even longer. Almost invariably they are versifications of prose lives, so that they have no independent value to the historian or student of hagiography. Milo was the author of a life of St. Amandus; Heiric of Auxerre chose St. Germanus as his hero. With the prefatory verses the former runs to nearly 2,000, the latter to almost 3,400 lines.³ In more than 1,800 hexameters an unidentified monk of St. Gall put together a metrical life of the abbey's venerated founder.⁴ An almost necessary consequence of their origin—adaptations of prose biographies—was that their poetic merits are slight. Even metrically they are sometimes halting or incorrect, either through the writer's lack of skill, or by reason of his pious desire to preserve, as far as possible, the language of the prose life that he was forcing into unwilling verse. Panegyric and historical narrative poems, again, which form a by no means negligible group, often assumed wearisome proportions. Ermoldus Nigellus, not content with singing the praises and exploits of Louis the Pious in four books of over three hundred couplets each (c. 826), addressed two shorter panegyrics to his son, Pippin.⁵ The poetic annals of Charlemagne by the Saxon Poet in four books of hexameters and one of elegiacs, are longer by several hundred verses than Ermoldus's major work.⁶ The first and second books of the epic written by Abbo, a monk of St. Germain, shortly before 900 describe the Norman attack on Paris of the year 885-6 in more than 1,200 verses of singularly difficult and artificial Latin.⁷

Of the shorter poems also by far the greatest proportion, irrespective of the contents, was composed either in hexameters or in elegiac couplets. The occupation with earlier poets, especially Vergil and Ovid, and the assimilation, with varying degrees of success, of their poetic idiom, meet the reader at every turn. Under Vergilian influence, too, the eclogue form was much favoured, even when the subject was not specially suited to dialogue treatment. The *Epicedium*

¹ *ibid.*, pp. 372 ff.

² MGH. Poet., II, pp. 197 ff.

³ MGH. Poet., III, pp. 561 ff.; *ibid.*, pp. 427 ff.

⁴ MGH. Poet., II, pp. 428 ff.

⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 4 ff.

⁶ MGH. Poet., IV, pp. 7 ff.

⁷ MGH. Poet., IV, pp. 78 ff. The third book does not deal with the war at all. For its curious contents and language cf. Laistner in *Bulletin Du Cange*, I (1924), pp. 27-31.

Hathumodae is a case in point, where the alternation of long exhortations and enumeration of the dead woman's virtues by the poet with the equally protracted *responsiones* of the nuns is quite alien from the spirit of the bucolic idyll with its rapid movement and the contrasted personality of the speakers. One of Alcuin's more pleasing poems is a little eclogue on the cuckoo, the speakers being Winter and Summer in the presence of a young and an old shepherd. The last named concludes the contest by siding with Spring and praising the coming of spring-time whose harbinger the cuckoo is.¹ This pretty trifle is still genuinely in the bucolic tradition. Sedulius Scotus also was not unsuccessful in a charming example of this style in fifty lines. In it the rose and the lily compete for first honours while Spring is the arbiter.² On the other hand, the prolix poem by Walahfrid on the statue of Theodoric, which had been transferred from Ravenna to Aix in 811 by order of the emperor, is cast in the form of a dialogue between the poet and *Scintilla*, a personification of his own poetic fancy, when it would probably have gained in effectiveness, if it had been composed as a continuous narrative. The introductory lines, with their rather conventional praise of rustic scenery, accord little with the main theme of the poem. This begins with an attack on the Ostrogothic king because he was an adherent of the Arian heresy. From this Walahfrid passes on to a panegyric of the ruler of the orthodox Franks, Louis the Pious, who is compared to Moses, and of other members of the royal house, as well as of Hilduin, Einhard, and Grimald.³ The eclogue of Modoin is a conversation between an old man and a boy. The latter sings in praise of poetry, with allusions not only to the ancients but to members of the Carolingian 'academy'. The old man tries to dissuade him from cultivating the muses when he were better occupied tilling the fields: ⁴

Quis te musarum tantus seduxerat error?
Rura colendo fuit melius tibi stiva tenere,
Agricolam patrio cantando imitarius usu.

But the most elaborate example of a poem in eclogue form is the *Eclogue of Theodulus*.⁵ It is a contest between Pseustis

¹ MGH. Poet., I, pp. 270 ff.

² MGH. Poet., III, pp. 230 ff.

³ MGH. Poet., II, pp. 370 ff.

⁴ MGH. Poet., I, pp. 384 ff. The lines quoted are 68 to 70.

⁵ This poem has been included here as it has commonly been held to belong to the ninth century, and for the sake of completeness. To the present writer it seems that K. Strecker is right in assigning to it a later date.

and Alithia, while Fronesis acts as arbiter. The author, though he has taken the Greek words for 'liar', 'truth' and 'thought' or 'reflection' for the names of his characters, makes Pseustis male and assigns him the character of a goatherd, thereby giving the conventional bucolic setting. The metrical scheme is regular, each of the two contestants alternately uttering four lines. The hexameters are rhymed and monotonous, because, with one exception, the caesura always comes in the same place, in the middle of the third foot. Pseustis begins by praising the story of Saturn and the golden age, and then proceeds to expatiate on other stories from Greek and Roman mythology. Alithia counters each pronouncement of her rival by recounting some episode taken from the Bible. The author obtained his mythological material chiefly from Vergil and Servius's commentary, Ovid, and Martianus Capella; there are also reminiscences from Sedulius and Prudentius. Who he himself was is unknown; for, in spite of the name, Theodulus, which is an almost exact reproduction in Greek of the German, Gottschalk, it appears impossible to attribute the poem to the champion of double predestination.¹ But, if the question of authorship is obscure, there is no doubt about the immense popularity of the eclogue throughout the Middle Ages. It became a favourite school-book, at least from the end of the eleventh century onwards; it appears frequently in library catalogues, and the number of twelfth-century or later manuscripts is large.²

Very few poets experimented with classical verse forms other than hexameters and the elegiac couplet. This is what we should expect with the generality of versifiers, seeing that the most studied models were Vergil and Ovid, and of more recent writers, Juvenius, Sedulius, and Venantius Fortunatus. The hexameter poetry of Horace, too, was far better known than the *Odes*, whilst the most popular works of Prudentius were those composed in hexameters, not the hymns with their remarkable variety of lyric metres. Added to this is the fact that even moderate success with a lyric metre requires considerably greater knowledge and skill than are needed to devise indifferent hexameters and pentameters. On the other hand, it is surprising to find that one of the most skilful metrists of the age, whose familiarity with earlier

¹ Cf. K. Strecker in *Neues Archiv.*, 45 (1924), pp. 18-23, where the date of the poem is also discussed.

² On the use of the *Eclogue* in the Middle Ages cf. the excellent article by G. L. Hamilton in *Modern Philology*, 7 (1909), pp. 169 ff.

poetry was uncommonly wide, namely Theodulfus, wrote only four short pieces in hexameters and only three times essayed the sapphic stanza. All the rest of his poetry, filling some one hundred and twenty pages in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, is penned in elegiacs.¹ The sapphic metre was, however, handled expertly by Walahfrid and by Sedulius Scotus. The latter is indeed unique for the variety of his lyric metres, all being scanned by quantity. Anapaestic and iambic verse, asclepiad, trochaic tetrameter, and other schemes, besides sapphics, hexameters, and elegiacs, all flowed smoothly from his pen, so that he can claim to be the most versatile metrical artist since Prudentius. His one attempt at writing rhythmic verse is so agreeable a trifle that we could wish he had written more of this kind. It is addressed to a friend, probably a cleric, named Robert, and thanks him for a gift of wine. The poem opens gaily with a grammatical declension of the donor's name : ²

' Bonus vir est Robertus,
Laudes gliscunt Roberti,
Christe, fave Roberto,
Longaevum fac Robertum,

Amen salve, Roberte,
Christus sit cum Roberto '—
Sex casibus percurrit
Vestri praeclarum nomen.

After singing his praises and the praises of wine through ten four-line stanzas he concludes with very unorthodox levity :

Qui tristibus Falerna
Largiri gaudes dona,
Poteris fonte vitae
Alma sanctorum sorte.

Nec tanta de Siloa
Grata manant fluentia.
Haec suxi—non negabo,
Haec sugam : sicera, abi.

¹ MGH. Poet., I, pp. 445 ff. The hexameter pieces are Nos. 23, 48, 66, and 68; the sapphics Nos. 37, 70, and 77. It is difficult to believe in the Theodulfian authorship of the last. For in the other two Theodulfus adheres carefully to the rules of quantitative scansion; 77, however, is partly quantitative, partly accentual, a combination not found elsewhere in this poet. In addition, the effect which this poem produces on the reader's mind is that it is the work of a tyro.

² MGH. Poet., III, p. 215 (No. 58).

The bulk of Walahfrid's poetic writing is in elegiacs or hexameters ; but he, too, experimented with sapphics, hendecasyllabics, glyconic, trochaic, and anacreontic lines. In short, the more notable poets, adhering to classical models, wrote quantitative verse, only permitting themselves in the scansion of syllables certain licences which, though not sanctioned by Vergil, Horace, and Ovid, had abundant and early authority elsewhere.¹

To enumerate all the poets and poetasters of the eighth and ninth centuries—and there were comparatively few figures in that literary world who did not at some time of their lives try their hand at verse—would be unprofitable and tedious. It will suffice to concentrate first on the leading poets and then to bring forward a few typical examples drawn from the rest. In this way it will also be possible to illustrate somewhat further the general observations that were hazarded at the beginning of this chapter.

Following a roughly chronological order we may begin with Paul the Deacon. His poetic output was not large.² Besides two longer compositions—one of 154, the other of 64 lines—in praise of St. Benedict, there are upwards of twenty short pieces. A few are epitaphs ; some illustrate the foible of the Carolingian scholars for exchanging versified notes and riddles, Paul's correspondents being Peter of Pisa and Charlemagne. Some of their replies have survived also. Two poems not merely stand out from the rest of his work, showing that Paul had moments of real poetic inspiration, but deserve to be classed with the best examples of Carolingian poetry as a whole. The first is a charming description of Lake Como, familiar to the poet in the days that he spent at Civate.³ In language, which is all the more effective for being unadorned, he brings vividly before our eyes the lake fringed with olive groves and with laurels, whose sombre shades are here and there relieved by the deep-red fruit of the pomegranate. The orchards are full of peaches and citrous fruit whose scent together with myrtle fills the air. No other lake save only the Galilean can compare with it. From the lines that follow it is clear that Paul had also seen its waters upheaved by one

¹ E.g., the shortening of final O in nouns (*nemō*, *devotiō*, etc.) and even in verb forms (*cantandō*, *glorificandō*, etc.).

² They were published by Dümmler in MGH. Poet., I, pp. 35 ff., but the best edition is that by Karl Neff (*Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, III, 4 [Munich, 1908]).

³ Neff, *op. cit.*, p. 1 ff. (No. 1). The lines cited are 23–26.

of those sudden squalls common on inland seas, especially in hilly country :

Fluctibus ergo cave tremulis submergere lintres ;
 Ne perdas homines fluctibus ergo cave.
 Si scelus hoc fugias, semper laudabere cunctis ;
 Semper amandus eris, si scelus hoc fugias.

In the other poem, which is full of deep pathos, he pleads with Charlemagne to set his brother at liberty and allow him to recover his ancestral home, succouring his wife and children who are in beggary :¹

Septimus annus adest, ex quo nova causa dolores
 Multiplices generat et mea corda quatit.
 Captivus vestris extunc germanus in oris
 Est meus afflicto pectore, nudus, egens.
 Illius in patria coniunx miseranda per omnes
 Mendicat plateas ore tremente cibos.
 Quattuor hac turpi natos sustentat ab arte,
 Quos vix pannuciis praevallet illa tegi.

Here assuredly we see great art born of heart-rending sorrow !

Amongst his contemporaries, and especially in the court circle, Alcuin was esteemed as one of the outstanding poets of the age. Nor, judged by the standards of the time, was such an estimate without warrant. His diction is fluent, affording ample proof of his wide reading. His lines flow with a certain grace, although they are by no means free from metrical errors. He had an enviable gift for saying the appropriate thing in verse on any occasion. The following lines of exhortation to young students combine elegance and felicity of expression in a remarkable degree, and are a good example of Alcuin's manner :²

O vos, est aetas, iuvenes, quibus apta legendo,
 Discite : eunt anni more fluentis aquae.
 Atque dies dociles vacuis ne perditte rebus :
 Nec redit unda fluens, nec redit hora ruens.
 Floreat in studiis virtutum prima iuventus,
 Fulgeat ut magno laudis honore senex,
 Utere, quisque legas librum, felicibus annis,
 Auctorisque memor dic : ' miserere deus '.
 Si nostram, lector, festucam tollere quaeris,
 Robora de proprio lumine tolle prius :

¹ Neff, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 ff. (No. 11). The lines cited are 5-12.

² MGH. Poet., I, p. 299 (No. 80, i).

Disce tuas, iuvenis, ut agat facundia causas,
 Ut sis defensor, cura, salusque tuis.
 Disce, precor, iuvenis, motus moresque venustos,
 Laudetur toto ut nomen in orbe tuum.

Among his few longer poems that on the history and cathedral of York is perhaps the best, although it is chiefly valuable for its subject matter. His shorter efforts were addressed to a very wide circle of persons, ranging from the king and the members of the royal family to friends across the Channel, from Pope Leo and high dignitaries in the Church to his own pupils. The contents are almost equally varied. In addition there are many specimens of metrical inscriptions composed for altars and churches, riddles, and acrostichs. But the modern reader who peruses Alcuin's work, especially if his own youthful training included Latin verse composition, will feel most of the time that he is looking at a series of unusually competent fair copies. Real inspiration, on the other hand, is rare; and, when it does appear, Alcuin fails to maintain a consistently high level throughout. The poem in which he takes leave of his cell begins with a dozen or so truly beautiful lines, but the rest is commonplace.¹ Even the ode to the nightingale, which shows Alcuin at his best, is disfigured by one prosaic couplet of intolerable bathos:²

Non cibus atque potus fuerat tibi dulcior odis,
 Alterius volucrum nec sociale iugum.

Very different were the character and attainments of Theodulfus, whose manifold activities as bishop and theologian have already engaged our attention. He was not merely one of the most cultured members of Charlemagne's circle; he was also its most distinguished poet. For, apart from the formal excellence of his verse, apart also from an abundance of classical, especially Ovidian, echoes which are for the most part felicitous, not forced, there are many features indicative of Theodulfus's originality as a thinker and his marked individuality as a poet. He had a true appreciation of beauty, whether in natural scenery or in works of art. He could lovingly describe a finely written or illuminated manuscript, a painting, or a plastic decoration, or in a couplet bring before our vision the essential features of a landscape.³

¹ No. 11. It is therefore misleading to the reader when P. S. Allen (*The Romanesque Lyric*, p. 240) prints only the beginning of this poem without indicating that the rest is not of the same quality.

² No. 61.

³ Cf., for example, Nos. 41, ii; 43, 46, 47.

Saxosa petimus constructam in valle Viennam,
Quam scopoli inde artant, hinc premit amnis hians.¹

What could be more vivid than this, or than the little poem on the tomb of St. Nazarius containing a brief allusion to his own visit to Lorsch in winter-time, the bleak landscape and falling snow contrasted with the cheerful sight of the monastery building where a kindly welcome awaited him?

Aulica silvestris delubra in rure locasti,
Martyr, et in vacuis syrtibus aula micat.
Nazarium vocitat hunc florem natio cuncta,
Nam nazar Hebraea flos bene lingua vocat.
Hunc ego Wangionum veniens festinus ab urbe
Dum peterem, vidi nube nivem cadere.
Piscifui Rheni transivi in robore ripas
Ut citius possem eius adire locum.²

Elsewhere he draws a charming picture of another monastery—the fields and stream, the chapel, the refectory, the kitchen, and the novices' quarters, all are there.³ Interwoven with his descriptive passages there is often a strong dramatic element. While we meet this even in his slighter pieces, like that which describes a fox who, after robbing the monastic hen-roost, is himself unexpectedly trapped,⁴ it is most marked in certain longer poems where it is combined with a pretty gift for satire. For in a poem of 122 couplets addressed to Charles, and in a shorter one to an unidentified friend, the poet draws an unforgettable portrait of the king surrounded by his courtiers, and by learned men, poets, and poetasters.⁵ The various characters bear the sobriquets customarily employed by the members of the 'academy'; hence it is not always possible to identify them. We gather from the second of these poems that there were some versifiers at court whose pretensions far outstripped their abilities, and whose intrigues might also cause annoyance. Theodulfus's special aversion appears to have been an Irishman.⁶ These pretenders are compared to birds not noted as songsters!⁷ But it is the individual sketches which will chiefly delight the modern reader. Here we meet Alcuin, always surrounded by young men, for whom, as well as for himself, he always replies as befits one clad in authority and years, ever ready to speak

¹ No. 28, 125-6.

² No. 49, 7-14.

³ No. 30, 51-64.

⁴ No. 50.

⁵ Nos. 25 and 27.

⁶ Cf. 25, 160; 25, 165 ff.; 27, 59 ff.

⁷ Cf. 27, 1 ff. (MGH. Poet., I, pp. 490 ff.).

on theology and to utter edifying maxims, and withal showing himself a good trencherman :

Et pater Albinus, sedeat pia verba daturus,
Sumpturusque cibos ore manuque libens.¹

Einhard, little in stature, but great in mind, bustles hither and thither, like an ant.² Bishop Hildebald of Cologne piously blesses the dishes as they succeed one another, while the cupbearer, bald Eberhard, is busy with his vintages.³ Over all, unruffled, in regal dignity, Charles presides as he deals out huge portions to his guests :⁴

In medio David sceptro regit omnia, largas
Disponens epulas ordine pacifico.

Nor must we forget that 'mountain of flesh', the peer of Falstaff, Knight Wibod, fuming at Theodulfus's poems and lumbering forward heavily when summoned to the royal presence :⁵

Audiat hanc forsan memerosus Wibodus heros,
Concutiat crassum terque quaterque caput.
Et torvum adspiciens vultuque et voce minetur,
Absentemque suis me obruat ille minis.
Quem si forte vocet pietas gratissima regis,
Gressu eat obliquo vel titubante genu.
Et sua praecedat tumefactus pectora venter,
Et pede Vulcanum, voce Iovem referat.

Theodulfus's satire owes its effectiveness and charm largely to the fact that it is devoid of malice. There is in it nothing of the sardonic bitterness which nearly a century later impelled John Scotus to compose a two-line epitaph on Hincmar of Rheims while that archbishop was still alive :⁶

Here Hincmar lies, a thief by avarice fired :
His only noble deed—that he expired !

Next to his humour and satiric vein the most striking feature in Theodulfus's character was his pessimism. We see this in certain of his religious poems, notably one where he contrasts manners and ideals in the time of the Apostles with those of his own age, and in the verses written during his last years

¹ No. 25, 131 ff., 190 ff. ; 27, 35 ff., 109 ff.

² No. 25, 155 ff.

³ No. 27, 75 ff.

⁴ No. 27, 73-4.

⁵ No. 25, 205 ff.

⁶ MGH. Poet., III, p. 553 :

Hic iacet Hincmarus, cleptes vehementer avarus,
Hoc solum gessit nobile, quod periit.

when he was an exile, deposed from his bishopric.¹ Less directly it gave rise to a *saeva indignatio* that made him lash hypocrisy, or avarice, and criticize severely the administration of justice and the undue severity of the law within the Frankish realm.² And lastly, although his lines on the approaching end of the world were inspired by a passage of Cyprian and treat in verse what was a commonplace of theological literature, we shall not err in believing that to Theodulfus the sentiments which he reproduced from the African Father had a special application to his own day, the more so as the concluding couplet is Theodulfus's own :³

Dirā cupido viget, sordes, periuria, luxus,
Livor edax, falsum, iurgia, rixa, dolus.

The difference in spirit between Theodulfus and Walahfrid, which is so palpable to any who reads their poetry, was partly due to temperament, partly to external fortune. Walahfrid was reared and spent most of his life in the cloister. His nine years' stay (829-838) at the court as tutor of the young prince Charles did not alter the nature of one who was essentially a scholar and a lover of simplicity and peace. And even the temporary misfortune, owing to political partisanship on the side of Lothar, which deprived him of the abbacy presented to him in 838, was not long and deep enough to leave any permanent scar in his mind. He was reinstated as abbot of Reichenau in 842, dying in that office seven years later.

His versified account of a vision, that had appeared to his teacher, Wetti, before his death, was written when Walahfrid was only eighteen. Nor was that his first attempt, since his transcription into hexameters of the life of the Cappadocian martyr, Mamme, appears to have been made a year before. Another hagiographical poem on the Irish martyr, Blaithe, and his *De cultura hortorum* were written not much later. At Fulda, whither he went to complete his studies under Hrabanus, his chief occupation was with theology; but neither at court nor subsequently did he abjure the Muses, although few of his shorter poems can be dated with precision. His earliest works had at least shown that he had been an unusually apt pupil and had made the best use of the literary treasures in the Reichenau library. His own native gift of song is first fully apparent in the poem on his garden. For,

¹ Nos. 17 and 72.

² Cf. Nos. 6, 7, 10, and 29.

³ No. 14, 39-40.

though it teems with Vergilian reminiscences, it is not an artificial drawing-room piece, but manifestly the work of a young man who loved fresh air and the simpler beauties of nature.

Haec non sola mihi patefecit opinio famae
Vulgaris, quaesita libris nec lectio priscis.
Sed labor et studium, quibus otia longa dierum
Postposui, expertum rebus docuere probatis.¹

An introduction of seventy-five lines on the purpose of gardening, the difficulties to be overcome, and the constant application required in the garden, leads up to a description of twenty-three plants in as many paragraphs, which vary in length from six to fifty-two lines. In each he first describes the plant and then explains its medicinal virtues; sometimes allusions to pagan mythology or Christian symbolism are added. The twelfth in his list affords an admirable specimen of the poet's methods and style:

GLADIOLA

Te neque transierim Latiae cui libera linguae
Nomine de gladii nomen facundia finxit.
Tu mihi purpurei progignis floris honorem,
Prima aestate gerens violae iucunda nigellae
Munera, vel qualis mensa sub Apollinis alta
Investis pueri pro morte recens yacinthus
Exiit et floris signavit vertice nomen.
Radicis ramenta tuae siccata fluenti
Diluimus contusa mero saevumque dolorem
Vesicae premimus tali non secius arte.
Pignore fullo tuo lini candentia texta
Efficit, ut rigeant dulcesque imitentur odores.²

The poem concludes with a dedication to Grimald, that most excellent man and abbot of St. Gall, and pictures him seated in the monastery orchard reading his young friend's work, the while his own boy pupils play and pick fruit hard by. For simplicity and charm it would not be easy to find the equal of these verses:³

Haec tibi servitii munuscula vilia parvi
Strabo tuus, Grimalde pater doctissime, servus
Pectore devoto nullius ponderis offert,
Ut cum consepito vilis consederis horti

¹ MGH. Poet., II, pp. 335, 15-18.

² *ibid.*, 217-28.

³ *ibid.*, 429-44.

Subter opacatas frondenti vertice malos,
 Persicus imparibus crines ubi dividit umbris,
 Dum tibi cana legunt tenera lanugine poma
 Ludentes pueri, scola laetabunda tuorum,
 Atque volis ingentia mala capacibus indunt,
 Grandia conantes includere corpora palmis :
 Quo moneare habeas nostri, pater alme, laboris,
 Dum relegis quae dedo volens, interque legendum
 Ut vitiosa seces, deposco, placentia firmes.
 Te deus aeterna faciat virtute virentem
 Immarcescibilis palmam comprehendere vitae :
 Hoc pater, hoc natus, hoc spiritus annuat almus.

Amongst the poems of his maturer years are many addressed to persons of rank and to notable Churchmen. The emperor himself, the empress Judith, Walahfrid's own pupil, Prince Charles, Hilduin, abbot of St. Denys, Hrabanus, Theganus, to whose *Life of Louis the Pious* Walahfrid wrote an introduction, Agobard of Lyons, and many others received these grateful tributes. And the poetical level maintained by the poet is unusually high when we remember how often such *pièces d'occasion* fail to call forth the highest inspiration of the writer. There is little of the romantic spirit in the Latin poetry of the Carolingian age, and the character and situation of its authors precluded the writing of amatory verse. But several of Walahfrid's finest poems were the expression of his deep love for friends, and a note of hardly disguised passion rings through them. His poem to the friend of his boyhood, Gottschalk, whom he calls, *meae pars unica mentis*, is full of affection;¹ but it is surpassed by two addressed to a young cleric, Liutger, and one to an unnamed friend. The first of these is, besides, full of that feeling for natural scenery which characterizes his *De cultura hortorum*.

Dulcibus officiis et amica mente colendo
 Liutgero Strabus paucula verba dedit.
 Parva licet fuerit nostrae dilectio partis,
 Credo tamen memorem te satis esse mei.
 Quicquid habes dextrum gaudens volo ; porro sinistrum
 Si quid adest, doleo cordis in oppidulo.
 Unicus ut matri, terris ut lumina Phoebi,
 Ut ros graminibus, piscibus unda freti,
 Aer uti oscinibus, rivorum ut murmura pratis,
 Sic tua, pusiole, cara mihi facies.
 Si fieri possit, fieri quod posse putamus,
 Ingere te nostris visibus, oro, celer.

¹ No. 18.

Nam quia te propius didici consistere nobis,
 Non requiesco, nisi, videro te citius.
 Excedat numeros astrorum, roris, arenae
 Gloria, vita, salus atque valere tuum.¹

If this little poem gives voice only to Walahfrid's deep abiding love, in the next his passion is mingled with despair at being parted from his friend :

Care venis subito, subito quoque, care recedis :
 Audio, non video, video tamen intus et intus
 Amplector fugientem et corpore, non pietate.
 Certus enim ut fueram, sum semper eroque foveri
 Corde tuo me, corde meo te. Nec mihi tempus
 Suadeat ullum aliud, tibi nec persuadeat ullum.
 Visere si poteris, sat erit, si videro gratum.
 Sin alias, rescribe aliquid, tua tristia novi
 Atque dolens recolo, dolor est possessio mundi,
 Quaeque serena putas, magis haec in nubila tristes
 Et tenebras fugiunt ; volucris qui pendet in orbe,
 Nunc scandit, nunc descendit, rota sic trahit orbis.²

The remaining poem, although it is perhaps superior to the other two in the formal perfection of its lines, is not so vibrant and spontaneous in the outpouring of the poet's inmost soul. Its charm indeed lies in the calmer setting that forms the background to his vows of friendship and unswerving fidelity :

Cum splendor lunae fulgescat ab aethere purae,
 Tu sta sub divo cernens speculamine miro,
 Qualiter ex luna splendescat lampade pura
 Et splendore suo caros amplectitur uno
 Corpore divisos, sed mentis amore ligatos.
 Si facies faciem spectare nequivit amantem,
 Hoc saltem nobis lumen sit pignus amoris.
 Hos tibi versiculos fidus transmisit amicus,
 Si de parte tua fidei stat fixa catena,
 Nunc precor, ut valeas felix per saecula cuncta.³

We have referred to Gottschalk. Though we have only seven certain poems from his hand, five of them deserve to be called religious poetry of a very high order. Of these two are composed in the Adonian metre, one in sapphics, one in the dactylic trimeter hypercatalectic, and one in rhythmic verse. Each line of each stanza ends with the same rhyme, whilst in the sapphics it appears even after each half of

¹ MGH. Poet., II, p. 385 (No. 31).

² *ibid.*, No. 32.

³ *op. cit.*, p. 403 (No. 59).

the first three lines. Consciousness of human sinfulness, amounting almost to despair, alternating with hopeful trust in the mercy of God and the intermediation of His Son, are the themes that dominate these strangely beautiful hymns.

Respice flentem,
quaeso, clientem,
te metuentem
atque petentem,
te venerantem,
quin et amantem.

Porrige dextram,
erige vnam,
exue multam,
postulo, culpam,
corrige vitam,
tu, male tritam.
* * *

Semper ubique,
Christe, tuere
et mihi, celse
tu, miserere,
teque timere
atque amare,

Per tua, sancte,
scripta meare,
corde vel ore
hinc peragraré,
perpete mente
hinc recitare,

Da meditari
et modulari,
ore profari,
corde operari
et tibi regi
da famulari.¹

We have quoted but five of the thirteen stanzas of this moving litany. The spirit which runs through it finds briefer expression in the haunting refrain,

O deus, miseri
miserere servi.

which begins each of the twenty stanzas of the fifth poem.²

¹ MGH. Poet., III, p. 725 ff. We have cited stanzas 4, 5, 8 to 10.

² *ibid.*, p. 729.

The seventh, written in hexameters, but preceded by thirty-two anacreontics, rhyme being used throughout, is addressed to Ratramnus of Corbie. The poet thanks him for a poem, assures him of his friendship, and alludes to his own Confession. This he had sent to several other theologians. There follows a brief though valuable explanation of his views on Predestination; valuable, because the longer prose works of Gottschalk are lost.¹ The remaining poem is in a somewhat different category. It is addressed to a dear young friend who had asked Gottschalk for a poem. In it we hear that same passionate note that we have already remarked in the three poems of Walahfrid.

Ut quid iubes,	pusiole,
quare mandas,	filiole,
carmen dulce	me cantare,
cum sim longe	exul valde
intra mare?	
o cur iubes canere?	
Magis mihi,	miserule,
flere libet,	puerule,
plus plorare	quam cantare
carmen tale,	iubes quale,
amor care.	
o cur iubes canere?	

After four more stanzas the poet changes from loving protest to his friend at an unseasonable request to the praise of God; after three stanzas comes the climax of the last:

Interim cum	pusione
psallam ore,	psallam mente,
psallam voce,	psallam corde,
psallam die,	psallam nocte
carmen dulce	
tibi, rex piissime. ²	

It would be difficult to find a greater contrast to this unhappy singer than the cheerful Irishman who for a decade was the chief literary figure at Lièges. Sedulius Scotus, besides his skill as a metrist, possessed to an eminent degree the faculty of inditing occasional verse. Much of it certainly

¹ *ibid.*, p. 733 ff. What is probably an eighth poem by Gottschalk also deals with this doctrinal question. It consists of ninety-four leonine hexameters, but the beginning and the end of the poem are lost. It is printed in MGH. Poet., IV, pp. 934 ff.

² *ibid.*, p. 731. We have cited stanzas 1, 2 and 10.

is only of average merit. But he had a variable as well as a versatile temperament, so that both in his solemn and his gay mood he produced some work of very high quality. Following the examples of Martianus Capella and of Boethius he introduced poetic interludes from time to time into his treatise, *On Christian rulers*. For the most part their contents have a direct bearing on the subject of the book. His poetic powers are seen at their best when, after describing at length the adversities that may come upon king and people in time of war, he bursts into lines of elemental force with the very ring of a *dies irae* :

Ventosa cum desaeviat
Euri procella perstrepsens,
Altis tonans de montibus
Cum nubilosa grandine,

Silvae ruantque protinus
Turbetur actus et maris,
Minas et astris inferat
Ventus crepanti fulmine,

Ferit pavor mortalium
Tunc corda contremementum,
Ne sternat ira caelitus
Propaginem terrestrium.¹

A good example of his serious manner in a more placid mood is furnished by the elegiac lines on Easter, when the landscape is clothed with fresh verdure and flowers, when the birds fill the air with song, and when all nature and the heavenly bodies join in a Hosanna to the newly-risen Lord :²

Tellus florigeras turgescit germine bulbas,
Floribus et pictum gaudet habere peplum.
Nunc variae volucres permulcent aethera cantu,
Produnt organulis celsa trophea novis.
Exultant caeli, laetatur terreus orbis,
Nunc alleluia centuplicatque tonos.
Nunc chorus ecclesiae hymnizans cantica Sion
Ad caeli superos tollit osanna polos.

The man who could depict the horrors of war knew also how to celebrate a victory in trumpet tones. This we see notably in a sapphic poem on a Norman defeat.³ Of Sedulius

¹ S. Hellmann, *Sedulius Scottus*, p. 71; MGH. Poet., III, p. 162.

² MGH. Poet., III, p. 219, 21-28.

³ *ibid.*, p. 208 (No. 45).

in a lighter vein we have already sampled one specimen. He enjoyed good things to eat and drink, and he was not above giving his friends a broad hint or even asking outright for a sheep or a butt of wine.¹ He has, too, given us a clever example of parody. For his piece, *On a ram torn to pieces by dogs*, is a mock epic in miniature, and the grand manner is admirably sustained. The unhappy ram, at bay, breaks into a ten-line speech in the best heroic style. All the other dogs are abashed; but one, more fierce than the rest, like barking Anubis—what would Vergil have said to this?—leads the renewed attack. After the death of the gallant horned hero we are given a long eulogy of him:²

Non mendosus erat nec inania verba loquutus :
 Báá seu béé mystica verba dabat.
 Agnus ut altithronus pro peccatoribus acrem
 Gustavit mortem filius ipse dei :
 Carpens mortis iter canibus laceratus iniquis
 Pro latrone malo sic, pie multo, peris.
 Quomodo pro Isaac aries sacer hostia factus :
 Sic tu pro misero victima grata manes.

Finally there is an eight-line epitaph, in which there is more than a mere hint that the dead will grace a monkish feast. In this connexion we may refer to three poems that may be classed as the forerunners of a poetic *genre* highly popular in the later Middle Ages, the beast fable. Their literary ancestry, of course, was ancient, going back to Aesop and Phaedrus. The authorship of these agreeable and humorous morsels is uncertain. That they were not written by Paul the Deacon may be regarded as certain; nor are there any adequate grounds for attributing them to Notker Balbulus.³ Indeed, it is by no means improbable that they are not all three by the same hand.⁴ The first and longest relates the story of the sick lion who, as king of beasts, is visited by all the other animals except the fox. The bear proposes that the fox should be fetched and punished. The lion gives orders accordingly; but the fox, when he is brought before him, appears in a most ragged condition, attributing this to his travels far and wide, pursued until at last he had found a physician who told him how to cure the king of beasts.

¹ *E.g.*, Nos. 9 and 36, as well as the poem to Robert cited above.

² *ibid.*, pp. 204 ff. The lines cited are 115-22.

³ Cf. K. Neff, *Paulus Diaconus*, pp. 192-3. The poems are printed *ibid.*, pp. 193-7, and in MGH. *Poet.*, I, pp. 62-5.

⁴ Cf. Karl Strecker in *Neues Archiv.*, 44 (1922), p. 219.

The lion eagerly asks what advice the fox had received. The reply is that the bear should be stripped of his pelt, as a warm bearskin was the only cure for the ailing monarch. The poem ends with the taunt of the fox, who 'has saved his skin', to the bear after he has lost his fur:

Quis dedit, urse pater, capite hanc gestare tyaram
Et manicas vestris quis dedit has manibus? ¹

The bishop's mitre and gloves, to which the fox jeeringly alludes, are the tufts of hair on the bear's head and paws, which are all that remain to him of his pelt. And we may add that the moral of the tale is to beware lest in digging a pit for another you fall into it yourself! The characterization of the three chief actors is excellent. Especially is the traditional servility and cunning of the fox brought out, as he feigns the utmost reluctance to narrate what he has learnt:

Tandem praecipuum medicum vix inveniebam;
Sed tibi, rex, vereor dicere, quae docuit.²

The other two poems are much slighter. The one is a conversation between a calf and a stork; the former laments that he has lost his mother and has had no milk for three days. The stork replies with a sneer: 'what a thing to worry about, I have had none for three years'. But the last word is with the calf who wittily enough snaps back: 'one can see by your legs the kind of food that you have been having':

Quo sis pasta cibo, en tua crura docent.

The third is the tale of the goat and the flea who exchanged rôles in the world so that both thereafter had a happier life.

Of all those who have been commonly considered the major poets of our period the most difficult to appraise justly is certainly Notker, surnamed Balbulus (the Stammerer). We may, indeed, concede the approximate truth of the tradition that he was the most gifted inmate of St. Gall in the last decades of the ninth and the first of the tenth century. Expert and beloved as a teacher, he was also a writer of some versatility. In prose his most substantial achievement was a book on Charlemagne, *Gesta Caroli*. The worth of this as a historical source in the strict sense is in truth small;³ but

¹ Ll., 65-66.

² Ll., 51-2.

³ Cf. L. Halphen, *Études critiques sur l'histoire de Charlemagne*, pp. 104 ff. The most recent text of the *Gesta* is in *St. Galler Mitteilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, 36 (1920), pp. 1-67.

it has a unique value and interest for another reason. It embodies a great deal of folk tradition and legend about the Frankish monarch, whose heroization it sensibly advanced. Written in rather colloquial Latin, that sometimes appears as a close translation from the German vernacular,¹ in which the writer received many of his stories, and enlivened by frequent use of dialogue, the book might be likened to a good historical novel. It attained an early and lasting popularity. Notker's other prose writings included a number of letters, a brief and unimportant historical sketch or *breviarium* of East Frankish history from 827 to c. 881, and a martyrology. Composed partly in prose, partly in verse was a *Life of St. Gall* of which only scanty fragments remain. It was, however, on his poetry that his reputation as an author rested and rests. Unfortunately what can now be attributed to him with certainty is small in amount. He is the author of four hymns in honour of St. Stephen; his secular verse probably includes a piece on the liberal arts, a moralizing or didactic poem addressed to his pupil Salomon, some riddles—and a mildly amusing fable. It cannot be said that any of the extant examples of Notker's non-religious verse are distinguished by any marked poetic beauty. The poem on the liberal arts is a rather pedantic school-piece based on Martianus Capella. Far more pleasing are the moral instructions conveyed to his old pupil in a series of short stanzas. Their tone is exceedingly frank; at the same time they breathe a deep sincerity, as the following specimen will show. It forms the conclusion of the sixth poem.²

Pervigil excubitor, superans noctemque diemque,
 Te docui potus immemor atque cibi.
 Omnia deposui tibimet parendo petenti—
 At nunc spernor ego, alter amatur homo!
 Sin magis ille senex odiis agitatus iniquis
 Divisit socios corde furente locis,
 Tum merore pari lugens et corde dolenti
 Te sequor et lacrimis strata rigabo tua.
 Sed, quocumque loci casu quocumque viabis,
 Implens cuncta deus te comitetur ope.
 Haec monumenta mei describito corde tenaci,
 Rumine continuo quae revoluta legas.

The poem on the three brothers who were in doubt what to do with the goat that was their father's solitary bequest to them has a certain droll humour depending on the absurdity

¹ Cf. Manitius, p. 360.

² MGH. Poet., IV, p. 345, 15-26.

of their respective wishes, by which they would decide who should have the beast. But it has none of the subtlety of the fable of the sick lion, nor is it its equal metrically.¹

Notker as a religious poet is equally difficult to place. There had been from the time of Alcuin and Theodulfus a certain revival in the composition of hymns. One by Theodulfus, to be sung on Palm Sunday and beginning

Gloria, laus, et honor tibi sit, rex Christe redemptor,

was taken into general use, in spite of the unwonted metre. Paulinus of Aquileia is mentioned as a writer of hymns both by Alcuin and by Walahfrid. No extant hymns can, however, be assigned to him with certainty. Five from the pen of Walahfrid, one on the Nativity, the others on different saints and martyrs, are good poetry, but too elaborate in language or too intricate in structure to be suitable for general adoption in the liturgy. We have also alluded already to the unusual quality of Gottschalk's religious verse. There are, further, some hymns to be found amongst the not inconsiderable remains of rhythmic verse composed before the end of the ninth century.² The four hymns to St. Stephen by Notker, while even less suitable than Walahfrid's for general use, are distinguished by a certain stately beauty and an undeniable depth of religious feeling. Metrically Notker is greatly inferior to both Walahfrid and Sedulius. The beginning of the first hymn affords a fair example of Notker's powers:³

Primus ex septem niveis columnis
A Petro electus Stephanus beato
Voce vel signis medicans misellis
Claret in orbe.

Qui brevi verbo replicans priora
Persecutores docuit piorum
Esse Iudeos probitate cassos
Felleque plenos,

Nec novum quid, quod dominum furore
Impio ad poenam crucis impulerunt,
Cum prophetas vel patriarchas ante
Sepe necarent.

¹ MGH. Poet., II, pp. 474-5.

² Cf. MGH. Poet., IV, pp. 447 ff.

³ MGH. Poet., IV, p. 337. Note the frequent carrying over of the first half of the sapphic line into the second half in the three hymns that are in this metre (*e.g.*, line 15 above). In the fourth hymn (*op. cit.*, p. 339) we find the following with two false quantities: 'sed cum hoc baptisterium cavallis'.

Hisce pro dictis, licet angelorum
 Ille fulgeret facie decorus,
 Ceu profanum moenibus urbis alte
 Eiiciebant.

Saulis et curae induvias calentes,
 Ne piger forsán furor impeditus
 Tardius sanctum lacerare posset
 Deposuerunt.

Tum volant crebri lapides per auras
 Instar ingentis pluvie vel ymbris
 Vinee tandem sterili negandi
 Atque nocive.

Above all, however, Notker's name is associated with the form of liturgical poetry known as the sequence. The origin of this is exceedingly obscure. If the statement of Gregory I be correct, then Pope Damasus in the second half of the fourth century had already introduced the *alleluia jubilus* in the *graduale*; that is to say, it became customary to prolong the final *a* of *alleluia* by a series of purely vocal embellishments (*iubili*).¹ The innovation of adding words to this religious *coloratura* appears to be much later; for at present it cannot be shown to antedate the time of Pippin or Charlemagne. Nevertheless the sequence was, even so, considerably older than the time of Notker, and he cannot therefore be regarded as its inventor. There is a further difficulty. While it would be unjustifiable in the present state of knowledge to dispute the more modest claim that Notker was the father of sequence-writing in Germany, there is the greatest diversity of opinion among those who would determine how many of the extant sequences attributed to him were really his. For, as the most recent editors have pointed out, the mere existence of one—actually there are far more—sequence in the so-called *Liber hymnorum* of Notker which is demonstrably not by him is sufficient to impugn the authenticity of all.² Thus while earlier critics, though differing widely in their conclusions, had all accepted at least some of the sequences in that collection as undoubtedly genuine poems of Notker, Blume and Bannister in their publication do not venture to describe any single sequence categorically as his.³ And another scholar puts the matter in a nutshell when he asks, whether the

¹ Greg., *Epist.*, 9, 26.

² Blume and Bannister, *Analecta hymnica*, 53, p. xiii.

³ See the commentaries to the various sequences in *Analecta hymnica* 53, which are labelled 'ascribitur Notkero'.

problem of identification is not unsurmountable in view of the anonymity of most writers of liturgical verse.¹ Bearing in mind that no final judgement on the question of Notkerian authorship is as yet possible, we may, to illustrate this type of religious poetry, which for its own sake and for its influence also on the development of rhythmical vernacular poetry was exceedingly important in succeeding centuries, quote two examples from amongst those few that can with most probability be claimed for the monk of St. Gall. The first is for Ascension Day :²

1. Christus hunc diem iucundum
cunctis concedat
esse christianis,
amatoribus suis.
2. Christe Iesu,
fili Dei,
mediator
naturae nostrae ac divinae,
terras Deus
visitasti
aeternus, aethera
novus homo transvolans.
3. Officiis
te angeli
atque nubes
stipant patrem reversurum.
Sed, quid mirum,
cum lactanti
adhuc stella tibi
serviret et angeli ?
4. Tu hodie
terrestribus
rem novam et dulcem
dedisti, Domine,
sperandi caelestia,
5. Te hominem
non fictum levando
super sidereas
metas, regum Domine.

¹ R. van Doren, *Étude sur l'influence musicale de l'abbaye de Saint-Gall*, p. 85 : L'anonymat sous lequel se produisent les poèmes liturgiques ne restera-t-il pas, ici comme ailleurs, l'obstacle insurmontable ? On p. 84 van Doren gives a convenient conspectus of the older editors and critics of Notker's *Sequences*.

² *Analecta hymnica*, 53, No. 68,

6. Quanta gaudia tuos
replent apostolos,
7. Quis dedisti cernere
te caelos pergere !
8. Quam hilares
in caelis
tibi occurrunt
noveni ordines.
9. In umeris
portanti
diu dispersum
a lupis gregem unum !
10. Quem, Christe, bone pastor,
tu dignare custodire.

The other example is in honour of the saintly founder of
St. Gall :¹

1. Dilecte
Deo, Galle, perenni
2. Hominibusque
et coetibus
· · · · ·
angelorum,
3. Qui Iesu Christi
oboediens
arduae
suasioni
4. Praedia patris,
gremium matris,
5. Coniugis curam,
ludicra nati
6. Sprevisi, pauperem
pauper Dominum sequens,
7. Et crucem gaudiis
praetulisti lubricis.
8. Sed Christus pretio
centuplicato.
9. Haec compensat, ut dies
iste testatur,

¹ *op. cit.*, No. 149.

10. Dum tibi nos omnes
filios dulci
subdit affectu
11. Sueviamque suavem
patriam tibi,
Galle, donavit
12. Necnon et iudicem
in caelis
apostolorum choro
iunctum te fecit sedere.
13. Te nunc suppliciter
precamur,
ut nobis Iesum Christum,
Galle, postules favere
14. Et locum corporis
eius pace
repleas
15. Ac tuos supplices
crebra prece
subleves,
16. Ut tibi debitam
honorificentiam
17. Laetabundi semper
mereamur solvere,
18. O Galle, Deo dilecte.

These sequences are clearly the work of a man imbued with deep religious feeling, as well as of one who was no mean master of literary expression. Let it be granted also that Notker's influence on the development of liturgical poetry, at least in the countries east of the Rhine, was fundamental, even if its precise scope can no longer be defined. Nevertheless, apart from this, it is difficult to see with what justification some modern writers of authority have assigned to him a leading place amongst Carolingian poets.¹ The truth would seem to be that, just as his renown as a great musician has faded away,² so his poetical achievement has been much

¹ It is well known that Winterfeld portrayed Notker as the head of a St. Gall school of poets, the peer and, as it were the rival, of Walahfrid at Reichenau. Manitius goes so far as to call Notker 'perhaps the greatest poet of the Middle Ages' (p. 354).

² Cf. R. van Doren, *op. cit.*, chs. ix and x.

exaggerated. No informed person would deny the immense importance of St. Gall as a cultural force in the Middle Ages. But it savours of partisanship to allocate, on the evidence of his extant works, and the obviously biased assertions made by Ekkehard IV two centuries later, a foremost place to Notker in the literary world of the ninth century.

The longer epic and didactic poems by various poets, to which allusion was made at the beginning of this chapter, whatever their value as sources for history and hagiography, do not, when considered solely as poetry, often rise above mediocrity. The reader has to travel over many arid places before he reaches at long intervals a poetical oasis. Even in Heiric of Auxerre's *Life of St. Germanus*, which as regards form and metre must be classed amongst the best of the hagiographical poems, it is only very occasionally that our attention is arrested by a passage of real power. There is, for instance, a vivid description of the saint's enthusiastic and clamorous reception by the people of Arles.¹ But the most impressive lines in the whole poem occur near the end, where the poet imagines the vision of the universe that opens out before St. Germanus after his translation to heaven:²

Et iam sub pedibus nubes et sydera cernit,
Despectat rosei candentia lumina solis,
Despectat gelidae rorantia sidera lunae,
Et quaecumque vagos exercet stella recursus,
Telluris molem circumfusasque tenebras
Pneumata ventorum tempestatumque tumorem,
Cur ver tranquillum, cur torrida prodeat aestas,
Autumnus uvis, faetetur bruma pruinis,
Et quicquid mundi volvit structura triquadri,
Et quicquid physicis perhibent succumbere causis.
Si qua vigent numeris, mensuris ponderibusve,
Si qua latent et si qua patent in cardine rerum:
Puro cunctorum speculatur lumine causam.
Omnis se subter, Christum super omnia cernit.
Ridet quin etiam pompas et culmina saeculi,
Reges horrendos, diademata sceptrata tyrannos
Et multo gazas scelerum fervore petitas,
Illusas auro tenui discrimine vestes,
Et quicquid mundana potest variare supellex.

Ironically perhaps, there is something of the same grandeur in these verses as in the poetry of the pagan disciple of Epicurus, whose splendid poem was written to prove the

¹ MGH. Poet., III, p. 483 (Book 4, 306 ff.).

² *ibid.*, p. 511 (Book 6, 418-36).

mechanical origin of the universe, and to ridicule the ordinary beliefs held in his time about divine intervention in the affairs of men. Of the historical poets Ermoldus Nigellus is perhaps the best. His descriptions of warfare are vivid;¹ in his portrayal of persons he is less successful, partly perhaps because his mind was overstocked with the diction of the classical poets. Certainly his lines on Benedict of Aniane² are stereotyped and convey to the mind little that can be called characteristic. So, too, in the account of the royal hunt, which is one of Ermoldus's most effective pieces, the leading personages are depicted in the traditional language of the epic. The empress is *pulcherrima coniunx*, Lothar is *celer, florens, fretusque iuventa*; and even the boy prince, Charles, has a literary ancestor in Ascanius. The lines devoted to him are, however, so lively and characteristic of the poet's method that they deserve to be quoted:³

Quam puer aspiciens Carolus cupit ecce parentis
 More sequi, precibus postulat acer equum;
 Arma rogat cupidus, pharetram celerisque sagittas,
 Et cupit ire sequax, ut pater ipse solet.
 Ingeminatque preces precibus; sed pulcra creatrix
 Ire vetat, voto nec dat habere viam.
 Ni pedagogus eum teneat materque volentem,
 More puer pueri iam volet ire pedes.

We may conclude these pages, in which we have tried to illustrate the similarities and diversities of Carolingian poetry, by referring to two examples of verse couched in a more popular strain. In either case the author's name and personality are unknown. The first is an incomplete rhythmic poem relating the capture of Louis II by the leaders of an insurrection at Benevento in 871. It begins thus:

Audite, omnes fines terre,	errore cum tristitia,
quale scelus fuit factum	Benevento civitas:
Lhuduicum Comprenderunt	sancto pio Augusto.
Beneventani se adunarunt	ad unum consilium,
Adelferio loquebatur	et dicebant principi:
'si nos eum vivum dimitemus, certe nos peribimus.'	
'Celus magnum praeparavit	in istam provintiam,
regnum nostrum nobis tollit,	nos habet pro nihilum,
plures mala nobis fecit: rectum	est ut moriad.'

¹ MGH. Poet., II, Book 1, 267 ff.; 3, 335 ff.

² *ibid.*, 2, 533 ff.

³ *ibid.*, 4, 519-26.

Deposuerunt sancto pio	de suo palatio :
Adelferio illum ducebat	usque ad pretorium.
ille vero gade visum	tamquam ad martirium.

The captive prince is condemned to die, but at the critical moment the country is threatened by a Saracen raid,

multa gens paganorum	exit in Calabria,
super Salerno pervenerunt	possidere civitas. ¹

and so Louis is released. It is an excellent specimen of a popular chantey, besides being a very interesting example of vernacular Latin. The other poem is in more literary language, and full of classical allusions. Nevertheless, the unknown author writes simply and has succeeded in giving his work a popular tone. It is a song for the watchmen of Modena bidding them guard their walls securely. As it is an admirable example of rhythmic verse, it deserves to be quoted in full :²

O tu, qui servas	armis ista moenia,
Noli dormire,	moneo, sed vigila.
Dum Hector vigil	extitit in Troia,
Non eam cepit	fraudulenta Graecia.
Prima quiete	dormiente Troia
Laxavit Synon	fallax claustra perfida.
Per funem lapsa	occultata agmina
Invadunt urbem	et incendunt Pergama.
Vigili voce	avis anser candida
Fugavit Gallos	ex arce Romulea. ³
Pro qua virtute	facta est argentea
Et a Romanis	adorata ut dea.
Nos adoremus	celsa Christi numina :
Illi canora	demus nostra iubila.
Illius magna	fisi sub custodia
Haec vigilantes	iubilemus carmina.
Divina, mundi	rex Christe, custodia,
Sub tua serva	haec castra vigilia.
Tu murus tuis	sis inexpugnabilis,
Sis inimicis	hostis tu terribilis.
Te vigilante	nulla nocet fortia,
Qui cuncta fugas	procul arma bellica.
Tu cinge nostra	haec, Christe, munimina,
Defendens ea	tua forti lancea.

¹ MGH. Poet., III, p. 404.

² *ibid.*, pp. 703-5.

³ The six lines printed by Traube after this and placed by him in square brackets were added by another hand and have here been omitted.

Sancta Maria
 Haec cum Iohanne
 Quorum hic sancta
 Et quibus ista
 Quo duce victrix
 Et sine ipso

mater Christi splendida,
 teothocos impetra.
 venerantur pignora
 sunt sacrata limina.
 est in bello dextera
 nihil valent iacula.

Fortis iuventus,
 Vestra per muros
 Et sit in armis
 Ne fraus hostilis
 Resultet echo
 Per muros 'eia'

virtus audax bellica,
 audiantur carmina.
 alterna vigilia,
 haec invadat moenia.
 'comes, eia vigila',
 dicat echo 'vigila'.

CHAPTER XV

VERNACULAR LITERATURE

(a) POETRY

NO study of the intellectual life of Western Europe to the end of the ninth century would be complete without some allusion to the remains of vernacular literature. What has survived and what must come within our purview, since the year 900 has been taken as the lower limit of our survey, is not great in quantity. The oldest surviving remains of any of the Romance languages, the direct descendants of Latin, do not antedate the tenth century.¹ A few of the earliest poems in Old Norse and Icelandic are generally admitted to go back to the ninth, but in the main this great literature belongs to the tenth and eleventh centuries, while the heyday of Scandinavian prose is even later. At all events it is not feasible to separate the oldest portions of the *Older Edda* from the rest, and a consideration of the whole of that poetry is quite outside the scope of this book. Similarly the older Celtic literature of Ireland and Wales can only be profitably studied as a whole ; and, although small portions of the surviving literature can be assigned to a very early date, the bulk of what is still extant in its existing form is the product of the tenth and following centuries. That many of the legends and tales embodied in prose or verse, whether we are dealing with Scandinavian or with Celtic literature, had their roots much further back is true enough ; but the modern student must needs investigate and appraise them primarily in the literary form in which they have been handed down and in connexion with the age in which they were so shaped.

It is thus justifiable to confine our attention to the vernacular literature of England and the German-speaking portions of the Frankish Empire. An oft-quoted passage in Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* (ch. 29) reads as follows :

¹ For the Romance version of the Strassburg oaths see above, p. 223. The *Chant de Sainte Eulalie*, to be precise, which is the earliest monument of Old French, was composed in the last years of the ninth century. Its form is adapted from the Latin sequence.

Again, he wrote down the very ancient Germanic (*barbara*) poems, in which the achievements and wars of ancient kings used to be sung, and transmitted them to posterity. He also inaugurated a scholarship of his native tongue. He assigned names in the vernacular to the months, since before that time the months amongst the Franks were designated partly in Latin, partly in German. Similarly he gave proper (German) names to the winds, whereas before it was scarcely possible to find appellations for more than four.

Then follows a list of these names—*januarium uuinter-mânôth*, *februarium hornung*, and so forth. Scholars have held very divergent views regarding the themes of the heroic poetry mentioned by the biographer. Indeed, there seems no necessity to assume that the subjects of these lays were confined to any one heroic cycle. Legends glorifying the doughty deeds of early Frankish or Burgundian rulers may have been used side by side with others whose heroes were Gothic kings, like Theodoric (Dietrich) or Ermanaric. At least there can be no doubt of the width of the emperor's sympathies, which allowed this most Christian monarch to authorize the preservation of a vernacular literature, till then transmitted orally, whose background and tone were essentially pagan. Yet, in spite of all, it was not destined to survive. The disappearance of all but a short fragment of this epic poetry is proof that Charles's successors and the Church effectively suppressed that which their Christian principles could not approve. Nor was the situation greatly different in England; for, although one long narrative poem has survived, the art of *Beowulf* presupposes a long anterior development, just as its Christian elements show it to belong to a relatively late date. Furthermore, it is a literary epic whose author is likely to have been no stranger to Latin poetry, not a lay handed down orally from generation to generation. The other remains of the Old English epic are brief fragments, though often their content will fill the reader with bitter regret that nearly all of an abundant and imaginative literature has perished. Of purely popular poetry nothing survives, either in Old English or in the Old German dialects, save a few spells. The Church at all times set her face resolutely against the belief in and the practice of magical incantations. But by transferring appeals to ward off sickness, or for the protection of the flocks, or for fertility, to the Christian saints or to the Virgin Mary the Church directed old beliefs and superstitions into new channels. Heathen spell poems, like

the two in Old High German intended respectively to bring about the release of a captive and to heal a lame horse, are exceedingly rare.¹

Old English epic poetry comprises, besides *Beowulf*, the following shorter pieces. A fragment of fifty lines describes the fight, resulting from a blood-feud, between Hnaef, the Dane, with fifty-nine henchmen, and a body of Frisians in the hall of the Frisian king, Finn. It is a part of the same story of which a variant and a fuller account is related as an interlude in *Beowulf* (ll. 1125 ff.). Of the poem, *Waldhere*, only two fragments of thirty-one lines each are preserved. When complete it was probably of considerable length. The complete story is best known from the tenth-century Latin version of Ekkehard; it belongs to the cycle of heroic legends whose central figures were Theodoric and Attila (Etzel). The first of the two extant pieces is a speech in which Hildegyth heartens her betrothed, Waldhere, when he is weary after fighting, and bids him trust in the efficacy of his magic blade, Mimming, made by the god, Weland, himself. The second piece is a portion of a dialogue between Waldhere and Guthhere before their duel. Both in *Waldhere* and in *Finn*, so far as can be judged from the scanty remains, the setting and spirit were heathen. At the same time neither poem is in any sense primitive; the legends are early, but the treatment is the work of an educated craftsman. In short, both poems, which seems to have been composed before the end of the seventh century, stand, like *Beowulf*, near the end of a long poetical evolution.

Beowulf, with its 3,183 lines, is the only complete epic in an old Germanic tongue, as well as the most substantial monument of Old English heroic poetry. The plot is simple and is composed of three main episodes. Beowulf, prince of the Geats, having heard that Heorot, the hall of Hrothgar, ruler of the Danes, has been infested for a dozen years by a man-eating monster, Grendel, voyages with fourteen stalwart companions to Heorot. There he is well received and explains his desire to destroy Grendel. At night he lies in wait for the ogre, and, after a terrific fight wounds him mortally. The second episode is the battle between Beowulf and Grendel's dam, who comes from her mere to avenge her son's death. When she has withdrawn again, Beowulf follows her and

¹ Cf. W. Braune, *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch* (seventh ed., 1911), No. xxxi, or E. von Steinmeyer, *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler* (1916), No. lxii.

overcomes her in her cavern beneath the mere. After being richly rewarded Beowulf departs for home with his comrades. The last episode takes place many years later. Beowulf, having succeeded to the throne soon after his return from Heorot, has been king of the Geats for fifty years. Then a great fire-dragon, the guardian of a treasure-hoard, ravages the land. The king goes forth to destroy the pest and succeeds, but is himself mortally wounded. The poem ends with a description of the heroic monarch's funeral rites. Besides the leading actions of which Beowulf is the central figure, there are many minor incidents and digressions, like the lay of Sigemund the Volsing (ll. 875 ff.) sung by a minstrel at the Danish court, the story of Finn, or the tale of the wicked queen, Thrytho (ll. 1931 ff.). Moreover, the conversations between the leading characters are recorded at great, one might say at heroic, length, and lastly there is a good deal of repetition. Some of the speeches are amongst the finest things in the poem, even if they impede the dramatic action. For they are varied and full of *ethos*, so that, even if their general construction tends to adhere to a standard pattern, they serve admirably to convey the individual characteristics of the speakers. We need only contrast the Nestor-like address of the elderly Danish king with the briefer and more practical, yet charming, remarks put in the mouth of his spouse, Queen Wealtheow.¹ Of Beowulf's own utterances the finest is his reply to the churlish Dane who taunts him; almost equally impressive, but in quite another *genre*, are the noble lines spoken by the aged hero when he is dying.² The following brief extracts will help to illustrate the varied skill of the poet. He paints a graphic picture of the good cheer at Heorot after Beowulf's arrival:³

There was laughter of warriors, song sounded forth, the words were joyous. Wealtheow, Hrothgar's queen, went forth, mindful of court usage, and greeted, gold-adorned, the men in hall. The noble lady first gave the cup to the hereditary ruler of the East Danes, and bade him be joyful at the beer-drinking, beloved by his people. He, the victorious king, partook in gladness of the feast and hall-cup.

Then the lady of the Helmings went round every part of the hall, to the well-tryed and to the younger warriors; proffered the costly goblet, until it came that she, the diademed queen, ripe in judgement, bore the mead-cup to Beowulf. She greeted the prince of

¹ ll. 1698 ff., 1215 ff.

² ll. 530 ff., 2729 ff., 2794 ff.

³ ll. 611 ff.

the Geats, and thanked God, discreet in speech, in that her desire had been fulfilled, that she might look to some warrior for help from these attacks.

The queen, after the slaughter of Grendel, in winsome words commends her young sons to Beowulf :¹

The Hall was filled with sound. Wealtheow spake, before the company she said : ' Have joy of this circlet, Beowulf, beloved youth, with luck, and this mantle—a treasure of the people—and thrive well ! Be known for valour and be kind in counsel to these boys. For that will I be mindful of reward for thee. Thou hast brought it to pass that men will magnify thee far and near, to all eternity, even as widely as the sea surrounds the windy coasts. Be, so long as thou livest, a prosperous prince. I wish thee store of costly treasures. Be friendly to my son in deeds, guarding his happy state. Here is each noble true to the other, in spirit mild, and faithful to his lord ; the knights are loyal, the people all ready, and warriors primed with wine perform my bidding.'

Hrothgar's farewell to Beowulf is characteristic of the king, as it is unimpeachable in sentiment :²

Hrothgar addressed him in turn : ' The wise Lord put these speeches in thy mind. Never heard I a man talk more prudently at so young an age ; strong art thou in thy might and ripe in mind, wise in thy spoken words. I deem it likely, if this falls out, that spear or combat fierce and grim, disease or knife, takes off the son of Hrethel, thy prince, the shepherd of thy people, and thou hast life, that the Geats of the sea may have no better man to choose as king, as guardian of the people's treasure, than thyself, if thou dost will to rule the kingdom of thy kin. Thy character charms me more as time goes on, beloved Beowulf.

Thou hast effected that to both the folks—Spear-Danes and the people of the Geats—there shall be peace in common ; wars shall cease, the vengeful enmities, which they carried on of yore ; that, while I govern this wide realm, there shall be interchange of treasure, many a man shall greet his fellow with good things across the gannet's bath ; the ringed ship shall bring over the seas gifts and love-tokens. I know the people are of steadfast build, both as to friend and foe, blameless in both respects, after old custom.'

That the poet was also a master of the grisly and fearful can be seen from a passage in the dragon-slaying :³

¹ ll. 1215 ff.

² ll. 1840 ff.

³ ll. 2670 ff. The translation is Clark Hall's with some changes.

After these words, the serpent, the fell spiteful spirit, came angrily a second time, bright with belched fire, to fall upon his foes, the loathed mankind. His shield was burnt up to the rim by waves of flame, his corslet could afford the youthful spear-fighter no aid; but the young man went to it valiantly under his kinsman's shield after his own was consumed by flames. Then once more the war-king was mindful of his renown, by main force he struck with his battle-sword so that it stuck in the head, driven in by the onslaught. Naegling snapped. Beowulf's old, grey-coloured sword failed him in the fray. . . .

Then a third time the people's spoiler, the dreadful fire-dragon, was intent on fighting; he rushed upon the hero, when occasion favoured him, hot and fierce in battle, and enclosed his whole neck between his cutting jaws; he was bathed in life-blood—the gore gushed out in streams.

Beowulf, indeed nearly all the old vernacular poetry, is written in alliterative verse. Each line consists of two half-lines with an intervening caesura. There are usually two feet in each half-line, although the number of unaccented syllables is variable. The alliteration is between the accented portions of each half-line; it consists either of the occurrence of the same initial consonant or of any initial vowels in both half-lines. The lines very commonly run on in such a way that the end of a sentence comes at the end of the first half-line; at the same time there is a good proportion of cases where the end of the whole line and the end of the sentence coincide. Apart from the variety resulting from this, monotony was further avoided by different rhythmical schemes which, while they conformed to the primary rules of accented-alliterative part and unaccented part in each half-line, produced on the ear an effect of diversity in unity.¹

We cannot here enter into the multiple problems—linguistic literary, archaeological—which have given rise to a vast literature about this epic. It must suffice to point out only certain leading facts or probabilities. The scene of the action is laid in Seeland, Heorot being perhaps identical with Leire, while the land of the Geats was in Southern Sweden. But since the poet lived in England and utilized the heroic stories that his forebears had brought with them across the sea, we must reckon with the possibility that, although the general

¹ ll. 2475-8 will serve as an illustration :

frome fyrdhwate,	eafteran waeran
ofer heafo healdan,	freode ne woldon
eatolne inwitscear	ac ymb Hreosnabeorh
	oft gefremedon.

setting of this story may be traditional, he has added scenic details from that region of England in which he lived.¹

The essential story with its fabulous monsters, and episodes like the cremation of the dead Beowulf, are purely pagan. Yet many of the ideas, especially those dealing with human conduct, are Christian; certain allusions also, like those to the story of Cain and Abel (ll. 107 ff; 1261 ff.) are taken from the Bible. In one and the same speech Beowulf remarks 'he whom death carries off shall rest assured it is God's will' and 'Fate goes ever as it must'.²

There are also certain historical elements in the tale. Though the hero himself cannot be identified with any person who actually lived, the names of some other persons mentioned in the poem seem to belong to history, notably the king, Hygelac, who perished in a raid on the Franks. So, too, the references to the bitter hostility and wars between Geats and Swedes reflect actual historical occurrences. The personality of the poet is wrapped in mystery; but, if we bear in mind that the Christian elements are an integral part of the poem, and that its language and structure are the work of a cultured man, writing a literary epic on traditional themes, we shall be disposed to picture him as a well-educated denizen of some English monastery rather than as a minstrel at the court of an English prince. Northumbria is most likely to have been his home, while the date of his epic may be placed shortly before the year 700.

The poem entitled *Widsith* is held to be one of the earliest examples of Old English verse; it has even been held to be by the same author as Beowulf. Although it is not an epic, it alludes to a variety of legends of the heroic age. Much of it is indeed a catalogue of names—Scandinavian, Frankish, Burgundian, Hun, and Gothic rulers with the peoples over whom they held sway. It is couched in the first person, the minstrel, who is actually recording the list of epic stories familiar to him, speaking as though he had himself wandered from court to court. It is of great interest to the student of Germanic saga, but its poetic merits are slight.

The short poem, *Deor*, has been classed both with heroic and with lyric poetry. Though it makes passing mention of the Germanic saga of Weland, the smith, and to other heroic

¹ This point was elaborated, for example, by A. S. Cook in *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 25 (1922). pp. 323 ff.

² ll. 441 and 453.

tales, it is best put with the elegies of which there are several other examples in Old English. The singer of *Deor* laments because his place at court has been taken by another ; but he comforts himself with the thought which recurs six times in forty-two lines as a refrain :

That sorrow passed by, so can this of mine.

Of half a dozen other elegies that on a ruined city, because of its very simplicity, is the finest. The unknown poet brings before our eyes a picture of the utter desolation that has succeeded to halcyon days of wealth and power :¹

The wide walls fell ; days of pestilence came ; death swept away all the bravery of men ; their fortresses became waste places ; the city fell to ruin . . . the place has sunk into ruin levelled to the hills, where in times past many a man light of heart and bright with gold, adorned with splendours, proud and flushed with wine, shone in trappings, gazed on treasure, on silver, on precious stones, on riches, on possessions, on costly gems, on this bright castle of the broad kingdom.

Nothing of Old German heroic poetry survives except a brief fragment of the *Lay of Hildebrand* (*Hildebrandslied*). The story belongs to the Theodoric cycle of Teutonic sagas. Hildebrand follows Theodoric into banishment, when the latter is driven forth from Italy through the hatred of Odovacar. After thirty years of warring, the exiles, with the help of the king of the Huns and his army, are hoping to be restored to their homes. The invading army is opposed by a host of defenders, one of whom is Hadubrand, the son that Hildebrand left behind him as a tiny child what time he set out with Theodoric. The issue between the two armies is to be decided by single combat, and the respective champions are Hildebrand and Hadubrand. In the extant fragment Hildebrand, inquiring, as was the custom, of his opponent regarding his name and style, learns that he is his own son. He tries to convince Hadubrand of this but without avail, as the younger man believes his father dead and suspects his present adversary of treachery :²

¹ Given as translated by R. K. Gordon in his *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (Everyman Library), p. 92. This excellent anthology contains most of the secular and religious poetry written in Old English in prose translation. Of some of the longer religious poems, however, only selections are given.

² ll. 39-45. See Braune, *op. cit.*, No. xxviii, or Steinmeyer, *op. cit.*, No. i.

Thou art an old Hun, exceeding crafty ; thou beguilest me with thy words and wilt hurl thy spear at me. As hast thou grown old, so dost thou ever bring forth treachery. Men seafaring westwards over the Vandal Sea have told me that war carried him off ; dead is Hildebrand, son of Heribrand !

The duel begins and the fragment breaks off. There is no doubt, however, that the issue was tragic ; the father became the slayer of the son. The subject lends a certain pathos to this brief specimen of a German epic, and the concluding portion leading up to the fight is full of dramatic intensity. But else there is scarcely sufficient in the extant sixty-eight lines on which to base a satisfactory judgement of its poetic merits. Nor have we the means to ascertain the scope of the poem when complete. The language is not a homogeneous dialect, but shows Low German forms side by side with High German. Many explanations of this mixed language have been given ; the most probable would seem to be that the epic was originally composed in Old High German, but that whoever wrote it down introduced some Low German forms because that was the language native to him.¹

Far more abundant both in England and in Germany is religious poetry written in the vernacular. The names of only two English poets have come down to us, Cædmon and Cynewulf. The story of Cædmon is related in one of the most famous passages in Bede's *Ecclesiastical history* (4, 24). He was already well advanced in years when in a dream there appeared to him a figure who bade him sing of the Creation. Next day he remembered the hymn that had been sung by him, although until then he had believed himself incapable of writing or reciting poetry to the harp. He was received into the monastery at Whitby, where he spent the remainder of his days, says Bede, singing

of the Creation of the world, and the origin of the human race, and the whole history of Genesis, of the going out of Israel from Egypt and the entry into the Land of Promise, and about many other episodes of the Sacred Scripture, the Incarnation of the Lord, His passion, resurrection, and ascent into heaven, of the coming of the Holy Spirit and the teaching of the Apostles.

¹ And not the other way round, as suggested by F. A. Wood in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 11 (1896), pp. 323 ff., followed by B. Dickinson, *Runic and Heroic Poems* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 47. For W. von Unwerth and T. Siebs (*Geschichte der deutschen Literatur bis zur Mitte des elften Jhdts.* [Berlin, 1920], pp. 70-1) draw attention to the close connexion between the Old High German forms and the requirements of the metre.

Besides the historian's Latin paraphrase, two versions of Cædmon's first hymn, one in the Northumbrian, one in the West Saxon dialect, have survived.¹ It is but nine lines praising the Creator, but of no great poetic worth. Of what Cædmon may have composed as a monk we have no knowledge beyond Bede's statement. For the group of narrative poems with religious content that were once attributed to him are certainly not his. These are preserved in a tenth-century *codex* at Oxford, one of three manuscripts which together preserve almost all that remains of Old English religious poetry. The others are the so-called Exeter Book, still preserved in the cathedral library of that city, and a manuscript in the capitular library of Vercelli. Both were copied in the eleventh century. For four of the extant poems the authorship of Cynewulf, whose *floruit* was most likely in the second half of the eighth century, and his home in Northumbria, is attested by his signature worked into the body of the poem in Runic letters. These poems are *Crist*, *Juliana*, *Elene*, and the *Fates of the Apostles*. The rest have been handed down anonymously. To determine which of nine or ten poems is earlier and which later is a difficult, if not an impossible, task. How widely specialists have differed in their views can be illustrated by the relatively short poem, the *Dream of the Rood*. While admiration for its poetic qualities may be said to be universal, some have claimed it for Cynewulf, others are content to attribute it merely to his 'school'. Yet one writer of high authority would put it, at least in its most ancient form, amongst the very oldest examples of religious poetry, written before the middle of the eighth century.² Again, various attempts have been made to attribute one or other of the unsigned works to Cynewulf; on the other hand it has been argued that of the three parts into which *Crist* is divided only the second, which bears his signature, is from Cynewulf's hand.

We cannot here do more than attempt a general appraisal of this poetic literature as a whole and touch upon certain of its characteristic features. The subject was derived either from the Bible, as is the case with the earlier and later *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and *Daniel* in the Oxford manuscript, or from apocryphal literature, like Cynewulf's *Fates of the Apostles* and the anonymous *Andreas* in the Vercelli *codex*, or from

¹ The two versions can be studied conveniently in C. Plummer's edition of Bede, Vol. 2, pp. 251-2.

² Cf. A. Brandl, *Englische Literatur* (in H. Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie* [Ed. 2, 1901-9]), pp. 1030-31.

portions of the liturgy, like the first part of *Crist*, or from the lives of Saints, like Cynewulf's *Juġiana* and *Elene* or the two versions of *Guthlac* in the Exeter book. There is, however, much variation in treatment. For, whereas the poet of *Genesis A* follows the Bible version very closely, the writer of *Exodus* permits himself more independence. Giving his imagination free rein, he describes the various stages of the Israelite march, their army, and the host of Pharaoh, and the destruction of the latter in the Red Sea with so much picturesque detail that he quite loses sight of the Biblical text. In most of the poems the influence of the old heroic poetry is felt either in phraseology or in the portrayal of the character and attributes of the leading figures. Moses and his followers in *Exodus* bear not a little resemblance to a Germanic or English chieftain accompanied by his faithful retainers. In the *Fates of the Apostles* and in *Andreas*—attributed by some scholars to Cynewulf—there are not only specific imitations of *Beowulf*, but Andrew and his fellow-apostles are spoken of as doughty warriors, and they are accompanied by their thanes. Great stress is laid on battle scenes, and other *motifs* of the old epic are woven in. The same tendency appears in *Daniel* in the description of Nebuchadrezzar's wars against the Hebrews. So, too, in *Judith*, which was perhaps not composed before the first half of the tenth century, the carousal of Holofernes and his supporters is portrayed in the old heroic manner. It cannot be said that this intrusion of an element quite foreign to Christian story and teaching is fortunate. For, where it occurs, the reader is bound to feel an incongruity. It is borne in upon him that the poet is within the trammels of an older poetic tradition, and from his attempted combination of two incompatibles there has resulted artificiality. Again, where, as in *Genesis A*, the author follows his source rather closely, it is at the cost of poetic inspiration, and the effect is wearisome. Indeed the religious-didactic purpose which is uppermost renders most of these works rather unattractive as a whole. It is often necessary to peruse many lines of tedious moralizing before one is rewarded by a passage in which spontaneous inspiration together with fine and appropriate diction has resulted in true poetry.¹

¹ For example, the storm at sea in *Andreas*; the conversation between Joseph and Mary in *Crist*, I; the destruction of the Egyptian host in *Exodus*; and the passage in *Elene* where the discovery of the True Cross, and how the glorious discovery was bruited abroad in the Roman world, are described.

Apart from two longer works Old German religious poetry is small in quantity and undistinguished in quality. Among surviving poems we may mention two hymns celebrating Saint Peter and Saint George, one commemorating the victory of Louis III over the Normans in 881—the so-called *Lugwigslied*—a paraphrase of Psalm cxxxviii, and a poetic version of the story of Christ and the woman of Samaria. In respect of metrical form it is important to note that all of these are, like the poetry of Otfrid, written in rhyming verse and not in the alliterative metre of the heroic and of the Old English religious poetry. The older metre was, however, employed in an incomplete poem of 103 lines composed in the Bavarian dialect. The flight of the soul from the body after death, a description of and warning against the pains of Hell, and an unusually vigorous portrayal of the Last Judgement, form the subject matter of this unusual fragment.¹

The contrast between the newer and the older metrical scheme can be studied most fully in the two poets of whose work we have more substantial remains. The unknown author of the *Heliand* (*Saviour*) made use of alliterative verse; Otfrid of Weissenburg, although he did not invent, developed a line which was also composed of two halves, but in which the final syllables of the two half-lines rhyme. That there is sometimes a double rhyme is accidental and not a necessary part of the scheme. *Heliand* is written in Old Saxon and runs to nearly six thousand lines. The *Gospel Book* of Otfrid was composed between 863 and 871 in the Frankish dialect and is about half as long. Both poems treat the same theme, the life and Passion of Christ, but with that the resemblance between them ends. While the author of *Heliand* took the *Gospel Harmony* of Tatian as his guide, Otfrid based his work on the Vulgate text and on those portions of the Gospel story which had been selected for use in the liturgical books of his day. Moreover, he betrays his preoccupation with the current theological studies of the cloister by introducing passages of interpretation according to the moral, the spiritual, or the mystical sense. Thus he becomes a commentator along the orthodox lines approved by Gregory and Bede and their successors to the great detriment of his poetry. He consciously strove to emancipate himself from the influence of the older vernacular poetry. This aim is made clear first of

¹ The *Muspilli*, as it has been named after the word, apparently meaning 'world-destruction', which occurs in line 56, is No. xxx in Braune and No. xiv in von Steinmeyer.

all in the Latin dedication to Liutbert, Archbishop of Mayence, in which Otfrid explains that his poem has been composed in answer to a request from certain fellow-monks for religious verse in the vernacular in place of the 'offensive song of laymen' (*laicorum cantus obscenus*). But it is further borne in upon the reader's mind by the choice of a different metre and by the tone and language of the narrative passages, not to speak of the exegetical portions of the work. Even so specialists have been able to point out occasional features in his verse that represent an unconscious lapse into the style of the *cantus laicorum*.

Otfrid, we may observe, also explains his desire to turn his native tongue into a vehicle for literary expression not unworthy to be placed by the side of the learned language in which the poets of antiquity and the early Christian poets composed their masterpieces. If it is difficult to rate Otfrid very highly as a poet—for an occasional flash of inspiration is all too swiftly quenched in pedestrian paraphrases of the Gospel text or in allegorizing passages which lose none of their tedium by being written in verse—one must at least praise and attach the highest value to his contribution towards the development of his native language.

The author of *Heliand* proceeded in a very different manner. Information about his personality or the place where he composed his religious epic is wanting. Its date can, however, be fixed within narrow limits, between 821 and 840. He was an educated man—monk or cleric—who besides the *Gospel Harmony* of Tatian, made use of Latin commentaries; he must also have been familiar with some of the Old English religious poetry of the eighth century. Although he is handling a Biblical subject, he is so thoroughly familiar with the epic tradition and secular poetry, that, to a greater extent than in any religious poetry written in England, the characters of *Heliand* are cast in the heroic mould. Jesus himself has the characteristics of a Teutonic ruler; His disciples are nobly born; their relations to the Saviour are described in terms applicable to the relation between thane and king, and they are actually designated 'bold warriors'. The setting of the Sermon on the Mount is such that it unmistakably recalls a heroic assembly, with the king addressing his faithful followers and subjects. Episodes, like the arrest of Jesus and Peter's assault on Malchus or the marriage feast at Canaan, afforded the poet an opportunity of depicting with much wealth of detail a fight and a cheerful carousal in the best heroic style.

On the other hand, where an incident in the Gospel story is, like Peter's betrayal of his Master, irreconcilable with the manners of the heroic age—in that case, the fidelity owed by the warrior to his lord—the poet goes out of his way to give a plausible explanation of it. Besides this the Gospel story is treated with a good deal of freedom by the author of *Heliand*. With true poetic insight he seized on those parts which seemed most suitable for picturesque elaboration even if they were concerned only with minor characters or episodes. For example, the dispute between Elizabeth and the Jews about the naming of her child is worked up into a most graphic scene with dialogue.

In conclusion we must mention an Old Saxon poem on Genesis, 337 lines of which alone survive in a manuscript of the ninth century, now in the Vatican. In the same *codex* are preserved seventy-nine lines of *Heliand*. The Genesis fragment is of special interest for the literary relationship existing between Old Saxon and Old English religious poetry. For the Old Saxon Genesis was translated into Old English; of this version more than six hundred lines survive, being in fact appended to the *Older Genesis* contained in the 'Cædmon' manuscript at Oxford. Between the Old Saxon Genesis, together with the Old English translation (*Genesis B*) and *Heliand* there are many resemblances in style and manner. These two, with the Old English *Dream of the Rood*, attain the summit of achievement in religious poetry composed in the vernacular tongues.

(b) PROSE

Remains of Old English prose prior to the middle of the ninth century are scanty. Some ordinances of Ethelbert of Kent, who died in 616, and of other Kentish rulers are preserved only in a manuscript copied early in the twelfth century; but the linguistic forms seem to point to an exemplar written in the eighth. The laws promulgated between 688 and 694 by the West Saxon monarch, Ine, have only survived in the form in which they were incorporated two centuries later by Alfred in his own code. From the period before the Danish invasions and the reign of Alfred, there further exist some charters and some hagiographical literature, also fragments of an interlinear version of the Psalter. In the eighth-century glossary preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, we have an early example of a bilingual dictionary designed to facilitate the reading of Latin authors.

In general, however, it is difficult or impossible to affix precise dates to these early remains, the more so as they are often only extant in manuscripts of much later date and have been subsequently worked over. It is a matter for deep regret that the translation of the Fourth Gospel on which Bede was engaged at the end of his life has perished. For, in view of his exceptional attainments as a scholar and a Latin stylist, it cannot be doubted that his translation was a work of real literary merit. Had his work survived, it is safe to say that he would have appeared before us as a real and worthy predecessor in this field of Alfred and his associates.

The first redaction of the *Old English Chronicle*, as it now exists, belongs to the last years of Alfred's reign. But, if the theory be correct that there is embedded in it an earlier version extending to the death of Ethelwulf (858) and completed shortly after, then this oldest chronicle, composed before Alfred came to the throne, would justly rank as the one outstanding Old English prose work before the revival of letters with which the great king's name is so intimately associated.¹ The *Chronicle* was written in the West Saxon kingdom, presumably at Winchester. The compiler used Bede's *History* and a lost Latin chronicle as the basis of his work to the end of the eighth century. The narrative of that earlier part is, in general, very brief; here and there an episode is treated a little more fully, but in such cases there is always the possibility that we are dealing with an interpolation made in Alfred's time. When the writer comes nearer to his own age his treatment becomes appreciably fuller. The narrative is unpretentious in form and diction, and only very occasionally goes beyond the barest entries of the annalist. Two examples will afford some insight into the author's method and into the solid merits of this straightforward record which, as has often been pointed out, is, next to Bede, the most important source for English history before the Norman Conquest.

A.D. 794.² In this year pope Adrian and king Offa died; and Aethelred, king of the Northumbrians, was slain by his own people, on the thirteenth day before the Kalends of May (April 19th); and bishop Ceolwulf and bishop Eadbald departed from the land; and Ecgferth succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians, and died the same year. And Eadberht succeeded to the kingdom in Kent, whose other name was Praen. And the aldorman Aethelheard

¹ For arguments in favour of this theory cf. A. Brandl, *Englische Literatur*, p. 1056.

² Thorpe's translation.

died on the Kalends of August (August 1st). And the heathens ravaged among the Northumbrians, and plundered Ecgferth's monastery at Donemuth (Wearmouth); and there one of their leaders was slain, and also some of their ships were wrecked by a tempest, and many of them were there drowned, and some came to the shore alive, and they were forthwith slain at the mouth of the river.

* * * * * *

A.D. 855 (856). In this year heathen men first took up their quarters over winter in Shepey. And in the same year king Aethelwulf chartered the tenth part of his land over all his kingdom, for the glory of God and his own eternal salvation: and in the same year went to Rome with great pomp and dwelt there twelve months, and then returned home; and Charles, king of the Franks, then gave him his daughter for queen; and after that he came to his people, and they were rejoiced thereat; and two years after he came from France, he died, and his body lies at Winchester, and he reigned eighteen years and a half.

At the very end of our period we come to a literary renaissance brought to birth by the personal example of Alfred and matured by his unwearying zeal, supported by such devotion as he was able to inspire in a few of the leading Churchmen within his realm. And the significant fact of far-reaching consequence was that it was especially the moulding of the vernacular tongue into an effective literary medium which the king had at heart. To promote this end translations of certain Latin books, then considered standard, were prepared. But Alfred after his victory over the Danes (878) strove also to improve the education of at least a portion of his subjects. His biographer relates how the king instituted a school in which the sons of many nobles and even of common men were educated with his own children. Of persons holding office under the monarch it was required that they should be able to read and write in their native tongue. However, correct knowledge of Latin had also sadly declined since the days of Bede and Alcuin. And not the least disastrous result of the havoc wrought by Danish invasions had been the desolation of many monasteries, virtually the only centres of education and learning. In the preface to his own translation of Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Rule* Alfred laments the decay of learning and the destruction of books before his reign and sets forth his own aims:

Then I recalled how the Law was first devised in the Hebrew tongue, and again, how when the Greeks learned it, they turned it all into their own language, and all other books too. And again

in like manner the Romans, when they had learned them, they turned all of them by wise interpreters into their own language. And also all other Christian peoples translated some part of them into their own tongue. Therefore it seems better to me, if it seems likewise to you, that we too turn some books which are most needful for all persons to know into the tongue which we can all understand; and that you act, as we very easily can with God's aid, if we have quiet, to the end that all the youth now in England of free men who have the wealth to be able to apply themselves to it be set to learning so long as they are of no use for anything else, until the time when they can read English writing well; let those afterwards be instructed further in the Latin language, whom one wishes to instruct further and whom one wishes to advance to a higher rank.

Another work by Gregory I that seemed well adapted to the ends present in Alfred's mind was the *Dialogues*. The translation of these was made by Werferth, Bishop of Worcester, the king only contributing a brief introduction. The other so-called translations are in a somewhat different category; for in the case of these Alfred allowed himself considerable freedom in handling the text. For example, in the Old English version of Orosius some passages of the original bearing on human vices and follies were omitted, to others additions were made to enhance the importance of the Christian life. Important interpolations were also introduced to illustrate the more extensive knowledge of geography available in the ninth century about Germany and Northern Europe. The best known of these insertions describe the voyage of the Norwegian Ohthere to the far North and the exploration of the Baltic Sea effected by Wulfstan. Again, of the three books of the Old English rendering of Augustine's *Soliloquies*, only the first reproduces the original Latin more or less faithfully. The latter part of the second and practically the whole of the third book are Alfred's own composition, although much of the thought is a restatement of what Alfred had studied in other Latin books, namely Gregory, Boethius and some other treatises by Augustine. Boethius's *De consolazione philosophiae* was also treated by the royal scholar, who evidently had the deepest admiration for this masterpiece of expiring paganism, with much freedom, with more indeed than one would gather from the preface:

King Alfred was the interpreter of this work, and turned it from Latin into English, as it is now done. Sometimes he put down word for word, sometimes sense for sense, as he could trans-

late most perspicuously and most intelligibly, in spite of the numerous and manifold worldly cares which often engaged him in mind and body. The cares are very hard for us to number which in his days came upon the realm that he had received, and yet, when he had learned this book and translated it from Latin into the English tongue, he afterwards wrought it into poetry, as it is now done. And now he asks and in God's name entreats every one whom it may please to read this book, to pray for him and not to lay it to his charge if he understand it more correctly than the king could. For each man, according to the measure of his understanding and according to his leisure, ought to speak what he speaks and do what he does.¹

Throughout this work Alfred frequently turns aside from the text that he is translating in order to add observations of his own; and this habit grows upon him as he proceeds, so that in the latter part, and especially in Book 5, the bulk of the Old English version reproduces the king's own thoughts inspired by the late Roman philosopher. Alfred's simple but profound piety finds expression in prayers, in his reflections on the Divine Being, and in his discussion of dogmatic questions, like predestination. The words of the preface and the general tone of the book hardly leave room for doubt that Alfred's adaptation of Boethius is the work of a man who feels that he is nearing the end of his life and labours. Hence it seems probable that this was the king's last important literary undertaking and not, as a later chronicler asserts, the result of collaboration between Alfred and Asser; for if that statement were true, the *De consolazione* would have to be numbered amongst the monarch's earlier writings.

Of other prose works dating from Alfred's time it will suffice to mention two, the continuation and redaction of the *Old English Chronicle* and the translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. The latter has sometimes been attributed to Alfred. But since it is notably inferior to the other translations and also contains a number of Mercian, in place of West Saxon, linguistic forms, it is more reasonable to assume that it is the work of another hand, though very likely undertaken at the king's request.

The surviving examples of prose in one or other of the Old German dialects are in the main interesting only to the linguist. Apart from glossaries and from the fragments of a vernacular rendering of the *Lex Salica*, two medical prescriptions, and

¹ The best edition of the Old English Boethius is by W. J. Sedgefield (Oxford, 1899).

one or two short documents, what remains consists entirely of translations in the theological field. We have seen how an ordinance of Charlemagne had bidden the parish clergy to ensure that the people properly comprehended the essential articles of the Christian faith. But, while the provisions of the *Admonitio generalis* of 789 were universal for the whole Empire, the need for such instruction would be especially felt, and the teaching would be less easy to impart than elsewhere, in those regions which had only recently renounced their heathen practices. The nature of this prose literature shows that it is the direct outcome of these two purposes, the general religious education of the people and the facilitation of missionary work. A Weissenburg manuscript written in the ninth century contains two translations of the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' and the Athanasian Creed, and the *Gloria in excelsis*, together with a bilingual list of the deadly sins. The archaic language makes it probable that the rendering belongs to the previous century.¹ The *Pater noster* is first given entire and then each sentence of it is commented upon in a few sentences. Bound up with the manuscript of St. Gall (No. 911), which preserves an important bilingual glossary—the so-called Keronian glossary—dating from the end of the eighth century, are some sheets of another *codex*. On these are inscribed the Creed and the *Pater noster* in the Alemannic dialect. Another translation of the Lord's Prayer in Bavarian appears to be slightly later in date. Very instructive, because they illustrate the missionary or pastoral labours of the clergy, are a general exhortation to the people, extant in both Latin and Bavarian, and two bilingual texts reproducing the vows taken by converts at baptism. The vernacular rendering of one of these is in East Frankish, the other in Old Saxon. It is notable that in addition to repeating the chief formulas of Christian belief the person to be baptized was specifically required to abjure heathen practices. Indeed, in the Old Saxon version we find the leading Germanic deities mentioned by name:²

End ec forsacho allum dioboles uuercum and uuordum, Thunaer ende Uuoden ende Saxnote ende allum them unholdum, the hira genotas sint.

¹ The text of these remains of Old German prose will be found most conveniently in W. Braune, *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch* (Ed. 6, 1907), and in E. von Steinmeyer, *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler* (1916).

² v. Steinmeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

Several vernacular renderings of the general catalogue of sins used in connexion with the confession heard by the priest at Eastertide have also survived. Extant translations of Biblical books or theological works are not numerous. Thus there are fragments of several interlinear versions of the Psalter and of an Old Dutch translation of the same; also a few remnants of a commentary on the Psalms written in Old Saxon and based, as far as the contents are concerned, on Cassiodorus and the pseudo-Hieronymic *Breviarium in psalmos*. Two works, both more or less complete, bear testimony to the interest in the vernacular shown by the monks of Reichenau and St. Gall. To the former abbey may be assigned an interlinear version of a number of Latin hymns, while the St. Gall *codex* 916 contains the interpolated text of Benedict's *Rule* with a word for word rendering into Alemannic. At Fulda, again, during the abbacy of Hrabanus, a group of six scholars was engaged in translating Tatian's *Gospel Harmony*. A Latin version of the second century Greek original, in which the more essential parts of Matthew's narrative were combined with passages from the other three Gospels, was one of the most venerable *codices* in the Fulda library. Written in uncials before 546, it had been discovered by Bishop Victor of Capua during the sixth century; traditionally it is one of the books that belonged to Boniface.¹ The Frankish version of this book is extremely literal. Indeed, a slavish adherence to the letter is characteristic of all the translations which have been enumerated so far. The various translators had not yet learned to use their own native speech freely and idiomatically, so as to reproduce a rendering of the sacred text or of a portion of the liturgy which combined accuracy with literary elegance. Nor are actual mistranslations rare, perhaps the worst examples being in the German version of Benedict's *Rule*. This, however, was an unusually difficult text to interpret. It is all the more astonishing to find that one of the earliest extant pieces of German prose is markedly superior to all the others produced before the end of the ninth century. A manuscript now in Paris contains in parallel columns the Latin text and a German version of a portion of Isidore's *De fide catholica*. Some pages of a manuscript copied at the beginning of the ninth century also survive at Vienna and at Hanover. This *codex*, in addition to a few fragments of the Isidorian treatise, preserves

¹ This, the so-called *Codex Fuldensis*, is now *Codex Bonifatianus*, 1, in the Landesbibliothek at Fulda.

parts of Matthew and pieces of three sermons or homilies, one by Augustine, in the two languages. The same version of Isidore is found in both manuscripts, although there is a difference in dialect. For the earlier (Paris) version is in Frankish and was probably made in Metz or the vicinity towards the end of the eighth century, the other is in Bavarian. The translator or translators of these works handled their task expertly, the *De fide catholica* being exceptionally well turned into the vernacular: for, instead of confining himself to a timid, word for word, reproduction of the original without much regard for literary form, this unknown Frankish scholar set himself, after fully mastering the meaning of the Latin, to render it faithfully yet with due attention to the different idiom and linguistic limitations of his native tongue. The achievement is the more remarkable because Isidore's text abounds in abstract ideas and in the technical phraseology of Latin theological literature, as an example will show:¹

Dicendo enim Christum Dei Iacob et filium et patrem ostendit. Item dicendo: 'Spiritus domini locutus est per me' sanctum Spiritum evidenter aperuit. Idem quoque in Psalmis (32, 6): 'Verbo', inquit, 'domini celi firmati sunt, et spiritu oris eius omnis virtus eorum'. In persona enim domini Patrem accipimus, in verbo Filium credimus, in spiritu oris eius Spiritum sanctum intellegimus. Quo testimonio et trinitatis numerus et communio cooperationis ostenditur.

Dhâr ir quhad 'Christ Jacobes gotes', chiuuissô meinida ir dhâr sunu endi fater. Dhâr ir auh quhad: 'gotes gheist ist sprehhendi dhurah mih', dhâr meinida leohtsamo zi archennenne dhen heilegan gheist. Avur auh umbi dhazs selba quhad David in psalmôm: 'druhtînes uuordu sindun himilâ chifestinôde endi sînes mundes gheistu standit al iro meghin'. In dhemu druhtînes nemin archennemês chiuuissô fater, in dhemu uuorde chilaubemês sunu, in sînes mundes gheiste instandemês chiuuissô heilegan gheist. In dheseru urchundîn ist ziuuâre araughit dhera dhrînissa zala endi chimeinidh iro einuuerches.

Not until Notker Labeo in the latter half of the tenth and the opening years of the eleventh century gave the world of his day a series of translations from standard Latin works, do we again find so high a level of performance in any extant Old German prose work. Notker did for his countrymen what a hundred years before Alfred had done for the English.

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¹ Braune, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

EPILOGUE

The tenth century has often been singled out as a period of disorganized barbarism. So sweeping a condemnation, like most facile generalizations, expresses only a part of the truth. Certainly, compared with the unity of Charlemagne's empire and the qualified political stability still existing under his successors of the ninth century, political, economic, and social conditions in the tenth were in a state of upheaval and flux. The Church and the religious houses did not escape the common lot. Much was destroyed, discipline was relaxed, abuses were rife. Yet, when the worst has been said, there still remains a good deal to set down on the credit side. The century was by no means wholly devoid of notable writers. Widukind of Corvey and Flodoard of Rheims are not unworthy successors of the Carolingian historians. In hagiography the tenth century surpassed the ninth in quantity and sometimes in quality. Poetic composition still claimed its devotees. Ekkehard I's *Waltharius manu fortis* was a presentation of Germanic saga in Latin dress. Hrotsvitha, the gifted nun of Gandersheim, after reading Terence, was impelled to write religious dramas. The unknown author of the *Ecbasis captivi* found his material for a lengthy epic in beast fables. The Carolingian tradition in scholarship lingered on; in some cases we can trace a direct process of transmission. We had occasion earlier to note that Odo of Cluny was a pupil of Remigius of Auxerre. Like his teacher, he put together extracts from earlier writers. His attention, very properly, since he was a member of a reformed religious congregation, was given to theology, his *Collationes* being drawn from the works of the Fathers. Atto of Vercelli, again, in composing his commentary on the Pauline Epistles, followed the traditional procedure of excerpting his predecessors. While some monasteries languished, others, on the contrary, continued as before, or entered on a new period of prosperity. The one case is illustrated by St. Gall; Fleury, which renewed and extended its influence when Abbo became abbot (988), is an instance of the other. In spite of the disturbed condition of wide tracts of country, intercommunication was not permanently hampered. The migrations of manuscripts alone show this; the movements of the learned prove it also. Abbo spent two years as a teacher in England in the abbey of Ramsey. There Byrhtferth was probably his pupil. Later he in turn paid a visit to the continent. Ratherius, who was at first at Liège, afterwards came to Italy. His *Praeloquia*,

containing the reflections on men and manners that he composed during a two-years' captivity, are a work of remarkable originality. And, at the very end of the century (999), the most learned man of his age and a pioneer in mathematical science, Gerbert, was chosen to fill the see of Peter. The many extant manuscripts of the tenth century, finally, demonstrate that *scriptoria* continued to be very active. The tenth century was intellectually a period of transition. Nearest akin to the brilliant era that it succeeded without any abrupt change, it perpetuated sufficient of Carolingian learning to serve as the foundation for the more vigorous minds of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

APPENDIX OF TRANSLATIONS

FOR the convenience of the reader English renderings of the poetic passages quoted in this book are here given.

CHAPTER IV

CORIPPUS (p. 84) :

There is a place cut sharply off afar in the midst of sandy wastes, whose edge the river wave, like the ocean, washes, and, as it issues forth, shuts in the lands with its bitter waters. In these regions seaweed and yielding ooze and deep slime are rank beneath an eddy. When it came to this spot, the horse sheered off affrighted from the black weeds and in panic turned back. Then, with snorting nostrils, it pricked up its two ears—a mark of panic—and reared, and maddened foamed, and rolled its eyes as it looked ahead ; and it dared not make trial of the dread peril. The great-hearted leader, alas, resisting had come to the end of life and road. With shouts the crowding enemy follow, driving and harassing the hero. Then with repeated blows of the spur he stabs his horse and shakes his mighty arms. The steed, driven on, leaps high, and, bearing on, tries to approach the forbidden way. Sucked down in the whirlpool it plunged itself, and on the top the fearful earth swallowed up its master in a ruthless chasm ; and Fortune snatching him from his foes took him in her care, that he might not stand unarmed or a humble suppliant, and gave him a tomb, lest else his body stripped had lain on Libya's sands.

CHAPTER XIII

MODON (p. 276) :

What great vagary of the muses had led thee astray ? Better for thee to till the fields and grasp the plough-handle, to imitate the husbandman after thy father's example, than to sing.

SEDULIUS (p. 278) :

A right good man is Robert,
High swells the praise of Robert,
Be gracious, Christ, to Robert,
Long-lived render Robert,
So be it, prosper, Robert,
May Christ abide with Robert ;
Thy glorious name's declension,
Its course runs through six cases.

* * * * *

May'st thou, to whom on sad men
 Falernian gifts to lavish
 'Tis joy, drink at life's fountain
 By the saints' kindly choosing!
 Less copious from Siloam
 Gush forth the cheering streamlets.
 Thine have I sucked—yea, truly,
 Thine will I suck! Avaunt, beer!

PAULUS DIACONUS (p. 280):

Do thou beware 'neath quivering waves from sinking craft!
 Lest thou destroy men with thy waves do thou beware!
 If thou eschew this crime, all men shall sing thy praise!
 Ever shalt thou be loved, if thou eschew this crime!

* * * * *

'Tis now the seventh year since rebellion begat manifold sorrows
 and shook my heart. So long is my brother a captive in your
 climes, heart-stricken, naked, and in need. In her home-land
 his wife begs with trembling lips for food from street to street.
 Four children she supports from this ignoble art, that scarce avails
 to cover them with tatters.

ALCUIN (p. 280):

Ye lads, whose age is fitted for reading, learn! The years go
 by like running water. Waste not the teachable days in idleness!
 The flowing wave returns not, the hastening hour returns not.
 Let early youth thrive in the pursuit of virtues that the old man
 may shine with the full lustre of praise! Let each read a book,
 and use the happy years, and, mindful of his Maker, say, 'have
 mercy, O God'! If, reader, thou wouldst remove our mote,
 first lift the beam from thine own eye! Learn, my boy, that
 ready speech may plead thy causes, that thou mayest defend,
 protect, and succour thy people. Learn, I pray, my boy, graceful
 movements and habits, that thy name may be praised throughout
 the whole globe.

ALCUIN (p. 281):

Not food nor drink, nor thy mating with another bird had been
 sweeter to thee than songs.

THEODULFUS (p. 282):

We make our way to rocky Vienne in the valley, locked up by
 cliffs on that side, hugged by a yawning stream on this.

* * * * *

O martyr, thou hast set thy lordly shrine in a wooded country
 region, and thy hall shines bright in an empty waste. Nazarius
 all the people calls this flower; for the Hebrew tongue fitly calls
 flower 'nazar'. As in haste I came from the city of the Wangiones
 and sought this spot, I saw the snow falling from a cloud. I

crossed in a skiff from bank to bank of the fish-laden Rhine, that I might more swiftly reach the saint's home.

THEODULFUS (p. 283):

And father Albinus would sit, ever about to utter pious words
and freely to partake of food with lips and hand.

* * * * *

In the midst David presides with sceptre, dealing out mighty
portions in order unperturbed.

* * * * *

Haply the large-limbed hero Wibod may hear this and shake
his fat head three or four times. And scowling he may threaten
with looks and voice, and overwhelm me in my absence with his
threats. If perchance the king's most gracious majesty should
summon him, he would go with bent and shaking knees. And
his swollen belly would march afore his chest, a Vulcan in his
gait, a Jupiter in voice!

* * * * *

Fearful greed thrives, squalor, perjury, luxury, biting envy,
falsehood, quarrels, wrangling, cunning.

WALAHFRID (p. 285):

It is not merely the current belief of folk that has revealed to
me this lore, nor reading pursued in ancient books. But toil and
industry that I preferred to long days of idleness have taught me,
schooled by the test of experience.

* * * * *

GLADIOLA

Nor will I pass thee by, for whom the untrammelled eloquence
of the Latin tongue has fashioned a name from the word 'sword'
(*gladius*). Thou dost bear me the beauty of a purple flower, in
early summer bringing a gift like to the sweet dark-hued violet,
or like the hyacinth new grown beneath Apollo's high table in
memory of a beardless boy, his name formed by the flower's top.
The branches of thy root we dry, crush, and mix with flowing
wine, and even thus with such art we assuage the bladder's cruel
pain. By thy aid the fuller makes snowy linen fabrics free from
creases and fragrant with a sweet scent.

WALAHFRID (p. 285):

Most learned father Grimald, thy pupil Stabus with loyal heart
offers to thee this humble little gift of trifling weight for his boy-
hood's pupillage; that, when thou sittest in thy modest fenced-in
orchard beneath the fruits shaded by leafy tree-tops, where the
peach breaks up the foliage with uneven shadows, what time the
sportive boys, the cheerful band of thy scholars, pluck for thee the
pale fruit with tender bloom and take the mighty peaches in their
palms stretched wide, striving to close their hands over the great

globes, thou mayest, kind father, have wherewith to be reminded of my industry. And, while thou dost read again what I gladly entrust to thee, and, as thou readest, I pray that thou cut out what is faulty and approve what pleases thee. May God, the imperishable, in his everlasting goodness grant thee to grasp the vigorous palm of life. May Father, Son, and kindly Spirit say yea hereto !

WALAHFRID (p. 286) :

Courting him with sweet civilities and thoughts of friendship, Strabus has sent these few words to Liutger. Though affection for us may be small, yet I trow that thou rememberest me well enough. Whate'er of good hap is thine, I gladly wish it so ; but more, if aught of ill hap is thine, grief dwells in my heart's little township. Like an only child to his mother, like Phoebus' light to earth, like dew to sward, like river murmurs to meadow, like the sea-wave to fishes, even so, dear youth, is thy dear face to me. If that could be which we think can be, bring thyself to our sight swiftly, I pray. For, since I have learnt that thou art nearer to us, no rest is mine unless I see thee sooner. May glory, life, safety, and thy weal exceed the number of the stars, of dewdrops and grains of sand.

* * * * *

Dear friend, suddenly thou art come, suddenly too, dear friend, thou art gone. I hear, I see not, yet see inwardly and inwardly embrace thee escaping in the flesh, but not in devotion. For as I was in the past, so I am and shall ever be sure that thy heart cherishes me, and mine thee. And let no occasion incline me to a different view, nor persuade thee otherwise. If thou canst visit, I will be satisfied if I have seen thy welcome self. If it be else, write somewhat ; I know thy sorrows and in grief rehearse them ; grief is the world's possession. What thou thinkest tranquillity, that rather flees away into clouds and dark sorrow. Who clings suspended to the fleeting globe, now rises, now falls ; thus the earth's wheel drags him on.

* * * * *

When the gleam of the virgin moon shines from the upper air, do thou stand beneath the heavens, viewing in a wondrous mirror, how it is lit up from the moon with her pure torch and in its gleam enfolds as one two friends, sundered yet linked in loving thought. If thy face could not behold the loved one's face, let this light at least be our pledge of love. These brief lines thy trusty friend has sent thee. If, for thy part, the links of friendship's chain hold fast, I pray now for thy happiness and weal through all the ages.

GOTTSCHALK (p. 288) :

Look down, I pray, on thy weeping servant, who fears and implores thee, who adores, yea, and loves thee. Stretch forth thy hand, raise up thy slave, strip off, I pray, his heavy guilt,

correct his ill-spent life. . . . O Christ, guard me always and in every place, and, all-highest, have pity on me. Grant me to fear and love thee ; to make my way, holy one, through thy writings, from them to set out with heart and lips, from them to recite with eager mind, to meditate and sing, to pray aloud, to work with my heart, and to serve thee, the king.

* * * * * * *

O God, have pity on thy pitiful servant.

GOTTSCHALK (p. 289) :

Why dost thou bid, my little lad, why constrain me, my little son, to sing a sweet song, seeing that I am an exile far across the sea. Oh why dost bid me sing ? Rather should I, my little sinner, weep, my little boy, rather lament than sing a song such as thou biddest, dearest heart. Oh why dost bid me sing ? . . . Meanwhile with my lad I will chant a psalm, a sweet song, with lips and mind and voice and heart, by day and night, to thee, most holy king.

SEDULIUS (p. 290) :

When the east wind's gusty gale rages boisterously, thundering down from high mountains, the while hail falls in clouds, and straightway forests totter, and the ocean tide is upheaved, and the wind hurls threats at the stars as the lightning crackles, then fear strikes the hearts of trembling mortals, lest heaven-sent wrath lay low the race of earthly men.

* * * * * * *

The earth makes flower-bearing bulbs to swell with blossom and rejoices to have a painted robe of flowers. Now bright-plumed birds soothe the air with song, from their young beaks they pour a song of lofty triumph. The skies exult, the earth is glad, and now re-echoes an hundredfold its notes of Halleluia. Now the church choir, singing its chant of Sion, lifts up its Hosanna to the sky's poles above.

SEDULIUS (p. 291) :

Without blemish was he and spake not empty words. Báá or béé were the mystic sounds he used to utter. As a lamb enthroned on high to redeem sinners the Son of God Himself tasted bitter death. Going the road of death, torn by cruel hounds, thus, good bell-wether, thou dost perish for the unrepentant thief. As a ram was made a sacrificial offering for Isaac, so thou art a pleasing victim for a poor wretch.

ANONYMOUS (p. 292) :

Father bear, who gave thee this mitre to wear on thy head, and who gave thee these gloves for thy hands ?

* * * * * * *

At length I scarce found an excellent physician. But, O king,
I fear to tell thee what he taught.

* * * * *

Look, your legs show what food you've been living on.

NOTKER BALBULUS (p. 293) :

A sleepless watcher, mastering day and night, heedless of drink and food, have I taught thee. All have I laid down in obedience to thy wishes. But now I am spurned, another has thy love. Yet, if that aged man, driven on by unjust hatred, with raging heart has torn friends asunder, then grieving with like anguish and sorrowing heart I follow thee, and will wet with my tears the road that thou treadest. But in whatever place, with whatever hap thou makest thy way, may God who fulfils all things escort thee with his aid. These memorials of me write down in a retentive heart, that thou mayest read them that have been turned over in continuous meditation.

NOTKER BALBULUS (p. 294) :

First from among seven snow-white pillars Stephen, chosen by blessed Peter, with voice and tokens healing the wretched is famed in the world. Repeating in brief words past events, he taught that the Jews, dishonest and full of envy, were persecutors of God-fearing men. No novelty their deed in having driven the Lord to the punishment of the cross in their unholy rage, seeing that they used oftentimes before to slay prophets and patriarchs. In requital for such words as these, though he shone beauteous with the face of angels, they cast him like some profane wretch down high from the city walls. And in Saul's care they laid their garments yet warm, lest perchance slow rage hampered might too tardily be able to mutilate the saint. Then the stones flew thick through the air, like to mighty rain or a shower denied to a vine long barren and harmful.¹

NOTKER BALBULUS (p. 296) :

Christ grant that this day be gracious to all Christian men, his lovers. Christ Jesus, Son of God, mediator between the Divine Nature and ours, Eternal God, thou hast visited the earth, a man new-made, through the air swift-moving. With their ministrations angels and clouds throng about thee as thou art about to return to thy Father. Yet no marvel is it that a star is still thy servant and the angels. This day hast thou given to earthly men a new, sweet gift of hope for heavenly things, O Lord, by raising thyself, a man true-fashioned, above the orbits of the stars, O Lord of kings. What joy fills thy apostles, to whom thou didst grant the sight of thee traversing the skies. In the skies how gladly the nine orders meet thee, bearing on thy shoulders a single flock

¹ The reader will do well to compare Acts vii., especially vv. 55 ff.

long scattered by wolves. It do thou deign to guard, O Christ, the good shepherd!

* * * * *

O thou, Gallus, dear to eternal God, and to men, and to the angelic hosts, who, obedient to the lofty behest of Jesus Christ, didst spurn a father's property, a mother's bosom, a wife's care, a son's playful antics, poor thyself to follow the poor Lord, and didst prefer the cross to transient pleasures! But Christ repays this an hundredfold, as this day testifies, the while He subjects us all to thee as sons in sweet affection, and has given thee, Gallus, Suevia, a suave home-land; has, too, made thee to sit a judge in the skies jointly with the band of the Apostles. Thee now as suppliants we pray, Gallus, that thou request Jesus Christ to give us his favour, and that thou fill the spot where thy body lies with peace, and that thou raise up them that supplicate thee in constant prayer, so that, full of gladness, we may ever be worthy to render to thee the honour that is thy due, O Gallus, beloved of God!

HEIRIC (p. 299):

And now beneath his feet he spies clouds and stars. He looks down on the shining radiance of the roseate sun, looks down on the dewy orb of the cold moon, and the recurrent wanderings of all the planets, the earth's mass and all-enveloping darkness, the wind's breaths and swelling tempests. He sees why peaceful spring and burning summer avail, why the autumn abounds in grapes and winter in frosts; sees all that revolves in the world's three-dimensional fabric, all that men say is subject to physical causes, all that has its being in number, measure, or weight, all that is hidden and all that is visible at the hub of the universe. With vision unclouded he gazes on the cause of all things. He beholds all mankind beneath him, Christ above all things. Yea, he looks smiling too at the vanities and high offices of human life, dread monarchs, diadems, sceptres, despots, and treasures sought after with many passionate crimes, robes vainly decked with gold in delicate variety, and all the manifold forms of earthly properties.

ERMOLDUS (p. 300):

Lo, the boy Charles regarding her, wishes, like his sire, to follow; with spirited prayers he demands a steed; eagerly asks for weapons for quiver and swift arrows, and yearns to go a-hunting, as his sire himself is wont to do. Request follows request repeatedly. But his fair mother forbids his going, and lets not his wish be fulfilled. Were not his tutor and his mother restraining him as he wishes to go, the boy, boy-like, would now be speeding on to go on foot.

ANONYMOUS (p. 300):

Hearken to a sin with anguish, all ye lands of every clime,
To the dastard deed accomplished by Benevento's citizens!
They have taken Louis captive, sacred, godly emperor.

To a council then foregathered all Benevento's burgesses.
 Adelferius first addressed them, and their leading men spoke thus :
 ' If alive we do discharge him, we shall surely be undone ;

Great the crime that he has plotted here against that land of ours.
 He despoils us of our kingdom, us he doth esteem as nought.
 He has done us wrongs too many ; just it is that he should die.'

Then the sacred, godly ruler from his palace they deposed.
 Adelferius him conducted straightway to the justice-seat.
 But the king went forth as if to meet a joyous martyrdom.¹

* * * * *

For a mighty horde of heathen landed on Calabria's shores.
 On they came atop Salerno, masters of the burgh to be.

ANONYMOUS (p. 301) :

O thou, who armed dost guard yon battlements,
 Beware, I bid, of slumber and keep watch !
 What time Sir Hector wakeful lived in Troy,
 It fell no prey to Greece's cunning wiles.
 When all was silent first and slumbered Troy,
 The crafty Sinon loosed his treacherous bolts.

Down ropes they swarmed, the hidden company,
 Raided the town and kindled Pergamum.
 With wakeful voice the snowy goose did drive
 Gauls headlong from the fort of Romulus.
 Then for her prowess she, in silver wrought,
 Was worshipped, goddess-like, by Roman men.

Ours be 't to worship Christ's divinity,
 To give to Him our tuneful songs of joy.
 Trustful beneath his mighty custody,
 While watching let us chant our joyous hymn !
 ' Earth's monarch, Christ, in holy custody
 Beneath thy watchful care this castle keep !

Be thou to thine a wall impregnable,
 To enemies a foe implacable ;
 With thee awatch, no doughty deeds can harm,
 Who drivest off all warlike arms afar.
 Gird thou about these muniments of ours,
 O Christ, thy warrior spear be their defence !

And thou, His radiant parent, Holy Mary,
 Mother of God, and John, support our prayer !
 Your holy pledges here are held in awe,

¹ The meaning is clear, although the first half of the line appears corrupt.

Yon threshold, too, is dedicate to you.
Christ leading, victory crowns our might in war ;
Without His aid, our weapons nought avail.'

Courageous youth, bold-hearted warriors,
O let your songs from wall to wall ring out !
Stand by, in alternating watches, armed,
Lest foeman's treachery assault these walls.
To echoing call, ' Ho, comrade, be on guard ',
' Cross walls let ' Ho ' re-echo ' be on guard ' !

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GENERAL INDEX

Abbreviations.—(a.) abbot; (b.) bishop; (e.) emperor; (m.) monk; (p.) pope; (st.) saint.

Note.—*Saints are listed under their respective names; the entries under 'Saint' refer to monastic houses.*

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